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## Dole Leads Senate Attack On Clinton's Foreign Policy

By Elaine Sciolino  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Bob Dole has taken up his role as Senate majority leader with a two-pronged attack on the Clinton administration's foreign policy, introducing legislation to lift the arms embargo in Bosnia and to give Congress more control over the scope and financing of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The move represented the first foreign policy confrontation between the new Republican majority in Congress and the administration.

It also underscored the intention of the Republican-dominated Congress in general, and Mr. Dole in particular, to put the administration on the defensive and to try to wrest control of at least part of the foreign policy agenda from the Democrats.

United Nations peacekeepers, struggling to put into effect an ambitious ceasefire in Bosnia, on Thursday criticized as counterproductive any Senate move to remove the arms embargo on the Muslim-led government, Reuters reported.

A UN spokesman in Sarajevo said that the Senate initiative flew in the face of efforts to implement the latest truce. UN officials said that removing the embargo would encourage the Bosnian Army to plunge back into a war it had already lost.

But the Bosnian government, despite having signed the truce, called for the lifting of the arms ban. "The Senate move is the right thing to do and long overdue," said Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. "Those opposing the move appease Serbian fascism."

In Brussels, meanwhile, the EU trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, called Thursday for a concerted European Union effort to prevent a lurch to isolationism in U.S. foreign policy. Referring to the impact of the new Republican-dominated Congress on the policy of the Clinton administration, Sir Leon said that "it would be a sad day for Europe and the United States" if U.S. foreign policy became more isolationist.

In another sign of things to come, Mr. Dole also pledged Wednesday that the Senate would question the legality of giving economic aid to North Korea as part of a far-reaching nuclear agreement and examine closely the cost of helping Haiti.

Under one bill by Mr. Dole, the United States would cease to honor the UN arms embargo on Bosnia either at the request of the Bosnian government or at the end of a four-month cease-fire on May 1.

His move could not have come as a total surprise to the administration, because it largely repeated the language of a similar Dole initiative that passed the Senate in August, but it complicates administration efforts to assure the allies that the United States will not unilaterally lift the embargo.

Although the administration has stopped enforcing the embargo, it has opposed lifting it on its own, arguing that such a move would set a precedent for other countries to ignore UN resolutions and would widen the war.

In denouncing the proposal, the State Department spokesman, Mike McCurry, said: "If you take on the unilateral responsibility of lifting the arms embargo, the United States would also unilaterally take on the consequences of that action, and that would include, in our view as a moral responsibility, the arming, training, and

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Chechen volunteers battling Thursday for control of Grozny. Reports said that reinforcements for both sides were heading for the war-battered capital.

## Yeltsin Is Yielding to Hard-Liners, U.S. Fears

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Boris N. Yeltsin's reliance on a small group of Moscow hard-liners for advice about the war in Chechnya has surprised the Clinton administration and provoked growing worries in Washington about the future direction of his military and security policies, U.S. officials say.

U.S. intelligence circles have received a series of reports from Moscow that in pursuing the increasingly violent war, Mr. Yeltsin has walled himself off from many longtime reformist allies and is listening primarily to the head of his security service, a little-known figure

who has no broad political experience and no special knowledge of Chechnya.

The CIA has also concluded that Mr. Yeltsin is listening closely to a small circle of other conservative military and security officials whom one official described Wednesday as "throwbacks" to an earlier political era in Moscow. The consequences of this "step back in time" are not yet clear, the official said, "but it is not a good sign" for Washington's policy of support for political and economic reform in Moscow.

In a classified CIA report given to policymakers two weeks ago, the agency's office of Slavic and Eurasian Analysis concluded that "there is much to be

concerned about in Moscow" and speculated that Mr. Yeltsin's handling of the Chechnya conflict could mark a turning point in his presidency, several administration officials said. The report was first quoted in Wednesday's editions of the Washington Times.

Deputy Secretary of Defense John M. Deutch underscored U.S. concerns by telling a National Defense University audience that the Chechnya conflict was "a very, very serious internal problem for Russia" that would have consequences for "our relationship in the near future." Mr. Deutch said Washington wanted "to see these hostilities end as quickly as possible."

The comments reflected an increase in U.S. anxiety about the impact of the conflict after Russian forces attempting to seize Grozny, the capital of the breakaway Chechen region, suffered a military setback on Monday. The administration so far has offered Russia its verbal support for the operation, but only on condition that it be ended quickly with a minimum of civilian casualties.

The political situation in Moscow "is more volatile by far" than it was several weeks ago, one official said, adding that Mr. Yeltsin's continued tenure was being

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## Kiosk Flights in Bosnia To Verify Truce

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Reuters) — The United Nations commander in Bosnia said Thursday that the Bosnian government and its Serbian foes had agreed on reconnaissance flights to verify a precarious cease-fire.

Lieutenant General Michael Rose said both sides agreed that their officers would travel in UN helicopters to verify a government army withdrawal from a Sarajevo demilitarized zone and the disengagement of forces elsewhere. But he warned that continued fighting in the northwestern Bihać enclave could sabotage the truce.

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## Perils on 2 Flanks Challenge EU Unity

By William Drozdiak  
Washington Post Service

PARIS — At a time when its expansion to 15 members poses a singular challenge in achieving common policies, the European Union is facing growing security threats on two separate flanks — east and south — that threaten its cohesion and, in particular, the crucial relationship between France and Germany.

While Germany looks at the power vacuum in the East and the unrest inside Russia with growing alarm, France and other southern nations such as Spain and

Italy believe their social stability is being directly affected by the spillover of Islamic radicalism in North Africa.

France's preoccupation with Algeria's civil war — which Prime Minister Edouard Balladur now calls his country's No. 1 foreign-policy priority — and Germany's preoccupation with the East have raised fears in both governments that the Union may become paralyzed just when it requires a clear sense of direction to press for closer political and economic unity by the end of the decade.

This strategic dissonance, which has

sharpened in recent weeks with the evolving crises in Algeria and Chechnya, loomed as the most critical theme in the private encounter on Thursday at Mr. Balladur's ski chalet in Chamonix between the prime minister and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, according to French and German officials.

The European Union is already facing a prolonged phase in limbo as France, which will preside over the Union for the next six months, enters what is most likely to be a

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With Mont Blanc as backdrop, Prime Minister Edouard Balladur and Chancellor Helmut Kohl held private talks Thursday in France. The German also urged Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, to stop the bloodshed in Chechnya.

## Panel Finds No Evidence That Iraq Used Toxic Arms

By David Brown  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A panel appointed by the National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine said there was no evidence that chemical or biological weapons were used in the Gulf War, and urged that rumors of such weapons be discredited.

The committee was briefed on operations in the war and reviewed classified military documents concerning chemical warfare, its members wrote in a report released Wednesday.

The group, made up mostly of physicians, epidemiologists and environmental health specialists, said it "could find absolutely no reliable intelligence, and no medical or biological justification" for any of the many claims that poison gas had been used against coalition forces during the war.

Cases of the chronic, poorly defined illness known popularly as Gulf War syndrome "are not the result of chemical, biological, or toxin warfare, or accidental exposures to stored weapons or research material," the panel said, and such claims

"should not be made or given credence in the absence of reliable data to the contrary."

Much of the information on which the Institute of Medicine committee reached its conclusion has been declassified.

Claims that chemical- or biological-warfare agents were used during the war began during the conflict and gained momentum after some veterans complained of persistent rashes, mood changes and sleep disturbances.

The Senate Banking Committee, at the urging of Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., a Michigan Democrat, investigated reports of gas exposure and released a report last year suggesting they were probably credible. Military authorities have consistently said there was no gas used by either Iraqi or coalition forces.

The Institute of Medicine panel's comments came in a 62-page report that reviewed the status of research into the syndrome.

The group cast doubt on two other possible causes of illness in veterans: vaccines

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## A Land of Emigrants Turns Vengeful on Immigrants

By John Tagliabue  
New York Times Service

TORVAIANICA, Italy — In this seaside town, battered down for the winter, the sudden notoriety is not terribly comfortable. But Torvaianica, a population of 7,000, has endured it since a 15-year-old girl was killed Dec. 27 by a car carrying four drunken Moroccans.

The police in this port south of Rome said it appeared that the girl, Sara Folino, was hit accidentally. But on the morning after the accident, a Moroccan was attacked by an Italian with a knife at a bus stop along Viale Danimarca. Later that day, four Italians pulled a Moroccan from his motorbike and beat him up. Then on

New Year's Day, a Moroccan in nearby Tor San Lorenzo was wounded by gunfire from a passing car, and an Indian man was stabbed with a knife.

At best, the violence might have been explained as a bewildered and youthful reaction to the death of a popular teenager. Nonetheless, it seemed to typify an enmity against foreigners that simmers just below the surface in towns across the country.

The attacks were only the latest in a series of assaults on foreigners in Italy, where a rising tide of immigrants, many of them job-seekers, has stirred widespread resentment. Civil rights groups and the Vatican have condemned the violence. The national government, which includes ministers

from the neofascist National Alliance, has responded to the attacks mainly by proposing to curb immigration.

France and Germany have already adopted legislation to limit immigration. A similar mood is now sweeping Italy, though the plans of the caretaker prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, to enact similar laws were interrupted by his resignation on Dec. 22.

"In the course of a century, we've gone from being a land of immigrants to one that takes in immigrants," said Luigi Manconi, a Milan sociologist. "We're just not equipped."

Torvaianica, an hour's drive south of

## Europe Uses Trade Lever As Rift With Russia Grows

Treaty Is Put on Hold; Kohl Calls for End to Chechnya Bloodshed

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — The European Commission, concerned over Moscow's use of military might to quash the rebellion in Chechnya, said Thursday that it was putting a trade accord with Russia on hold, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany urged President Boris N. Yeltsin not to use excessive force again in the breakaway region.

The moves came a day after Mr. Yeltsin announced that he had suspended air raids against Grozny, the Chechen capital, but it was unclear whether they had actually stopped. (Page 8)

The European Union and German actions reflected growing international dismay with Russia's handling of the crisis, even though the Western view remained that the Chechen situation was an internal Russian matter.

Flexing one of its few muscles with the Kremlin, the 20-member European Commission, the EU's executive body, announced that it would not forward for formal signature an interim trade agreement with Moscow finally agreed to late last month.

"We are not proposing formal signing of this very important interim agreement," the European Union's external affairs commissioner, Hans van den Broek, told a committee of the European Parliament.

"It is a signal that cannot be misunderstood," he said, mentioning "serious concern slowly bordering on indignation" in EU capitals.

The accord seeks equal tax treatment for EU imports and exports for a transitional period. To take force, it must be signed by Russia and the EU presidency, now held by France, on behalf of member states.

The agreement was intended as a stop-gap measure until a broader accord is ratified, but in common with all EU accords it contains a key passage on respecting human rights, which EU countries fear are now at great risk in Chechnya.

In Bonn, Mr. Kohl urged Mr. Yeltsin to stop the bloodshed. Mr. Kohl has been sharply criticized at home for not trying to use his influence on Mr. Yeltsin, with whom he claims a close friendship.

But Mr. van den Broek said the clout of EU members in Moscow was limited. "We shouldn't think we can impose anything on Russia," he said. "It is a superpower." He sidestepped calls to end all EU aid to Russia.

Mr. Kohl had refrained until this week from criticizing Mr. Yeltsin's decision to attack, and even Thursday he balanced his expression of deep concern by telling critics of German and European passivity that the Russian leader was still the best hope for democratic change in Moscow.

But Mr. van den Broek said, "The question 'Is Yeltsin democratic?' is popping up all over again."

Underscoring Washington's predicament in how to deal with Russia, both Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and Defense Secretary William J. Perry criticized Russia's brutality in trying to crush the rebellion in Chechnya but maintained a spirited defense of President Yeltsin.

Until Thursday, both U.S. officials had tacitly supported a military action that has been opposed by a majority of Russians, including pro-democracy supporters, human rights activists, the Parliament and even many in its military. Their view was that Mr. Yeltsin had every right to crush a rebellion inside his country's borders and that the priority for the United States was to bolster a fragile democracy that also happened to have an enormous nuclear arsenal.

But the brutality of the Russian military and Mr. Yeltsin's reliance on a clique of anti-Democrats, expressions of alarm by European officials and a pessimistic assessment by the Central Intelligence Agency have forced policymakers into a tougher line.

Mr. Perry said Thursday that Washington was "increasingly concerned" over Russia's military tactics in Chechnya and resulting heavy casualties among civilians.

"We have made those views known to the Russians and will continue to make our views known," he said.

Mr. Christopher indicated Thursday that it was the way force was being used

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	3850.92		111.36
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New York	1.5507	previous close	1.5593
DM	1.5631		1.5605
Pound	100.875		101.375
Yen	5.353		5.37

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## Porous Jails Set Off Crisis for the Tories

### Escape by 3 Lifers Points Up A String of Security Failures

By John Darnton  
New York Times Service

LONDON — Three convicts who broke out of a maximum-security prison on the Isle of Wight on Tuesday evening were still at large on Thursday, and, as more details about their escape came to light, the episode turned into a full-fledged crisis for the government.

The breakout followed a string of problems, ranging from inmate rioting to lax supervision and security, that have plagued the ancient and overcrowded prison system.

England and Wales have 130 prisons with a capacity of 53,536. As of Dec. 30, they held 48,274 prisoners.

The three men — two murderers and a prisoner whose diaries reveal a morbid obsession with exterminating the human race — were all serving life terms. About 200 extra police-men were brought in to search the sparsely populated areas on the island and on England's southern coastline.

The prisoners slipped away from Parkhurst prison during an exercise class in the prison gym. They apparently used a replica of a skeleton key to open a back door, then ran 150 meters across a yard to a vocational training workshop and also opened a lock there.

Once inside, they assembled a seven-meter ladder from bits and pieces constructed during metalworking lessons, stole tools to cut through a perimeter fence, and then used the ladder to scale the outer wall.

They were missing for up to two and a quarter hours before a guard discovered a hole in the fence. That is more than enough time for them to have reached the mainland if they managed to secure a boat or slip aboard a ferry.

The police, however, were working on the assumption that the men were still hiding out on the island which has a 400-hectare forest close to the prison, isolated farmhouses and a population of 130,000.

Thursday afternoon, the police found the home-made key apparently used by the convicts near a phone booth close to the prison. How they managed to get hold of the duplicate key was only one mystery surrounding the escape. British prison guards typically wear keys on their belts.

Complicating the issue was a

charge from the Prison Officers Association, a union that has been fighting bitter battles with the prison system's management, that the warden had been told by guards two days before the breakout that they believed that prisoners had a copy of the key. The warden, John Marriott, was reported to have denied receiving any such warning.

The dispute took a new twist this afternoon when an assistant chief constable in Hampshire, John Wright, said he could not exclude the possibility that members of the prison staff had helped the escapees. His statement drew an angry denial from the union.

No one contended that security problems at Parkhurst were a secret. In October, the chief inspector of prisons, Judge Stephen Tuzin, who was engaged in a study of prison security, took the director-general of the prison service about the situation at Parkhurst, pointing out that searches of prisoners were lax and that special electronic equipment to make them more effective was not being used.

Whether any steps were taken has not been publicly disclosed. But the timing of the breakout was unfortunate for the government and, in particular, for the home secretary, Michael Howard, whose portfolio includes criminal justice. To bolster the sagging popularity of the ruling Conservatives, Mr. Howard promised a tough anti-crime program 15 months ago, including longer sentences and tougher jails.

Earlier this week, there were two nights of rioting at Esher prison on North Hampshire. On New Year's Day, a man awaiting trial on charges of multiple murder, Frederick West, hanged himself in his cell in Winslow Green prison.

Last September, five prisoners who are members of the Irish Republican Army escaped briefly from Whitmoor jail in Cambridgeshire. Two weeks later, despite intensive searches there, a mass of Semtex explosives and detonators turned up inside the prison walls.

Periodically, the system is embarrassed by reports of prison officers refusing to enforce strict regulations and even doing such favors for prisoners as going shopping to get them steaks, smoked salmon, Italian sausage and coffee and cookies.



WEST-BANK SCUFFLE — Israeli police retreating in Jewish settlers blocking the car of leftists traveling Thursday to protest expansion of a settlement near Eilat. An order to stop construction still allows some expansion work.

## Radical Algeria Front Disavows War Talk

PARIS — Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front denied Thursday that it had declared war on France or set a deadline for Western embassies to "shut or face bloodshed" in its struggle to oust the country's military rulers.

The Front's executive-in-exile said such alleged threats were part of a campaign "orchestrated by certain Western media" to discredit the Muslim fundamentalist opposition in the former French territory.

"Neither the Islamic Salvation Front nor the Islamic Salvation Army has issued such a statement," the Front's exiled leadership said in a declaration faxed to Paris. The Islamic Salvation Army is the Front's military wing.

It added that the Front considered the conflict "limited to the Algerian people on the one side and the military dictatorship on the other." The Front also said that it "condemns all action against innocents, whatever their views or religion and whoever carries them out."

The statement said "dubious threatening letters" warning some Western governments to close their Algerian embassies by this Saturday or face reprisals served only the interest of the army-led government.

"Some generals have wanted since November to see diplomatic missions leave Algeria so they can proceed with liquidating the popular opposition amid media silence and without awkward foreign witnesses," the statement said.

The United States has con-

firmed that it was one of several countries, reported to include France, Britain and Germany, which received warnings in the last few days allegedly issued by the hard-line Armed Islamic Group.

The group has taken responsibility for the killing of dozens of foreigners since September 1993.

In London, the Foreign Office renewed a warning to British citizens to refrain from traveling to Algeria "in view of the increased security threat to foreigners."

## 'Confession' Dictated, Pilot Says

### He Feared Being Shot as He Argued With North Koreans

NEW YORK — A U.S. Army pilot who was captured after his helicopter went down in North Korea said Thursday that a statement he signed while in captivity was dictated by his captors.

Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Hall said the statement concerning an "illegal intrusion," which Pyongyang called a confession, "was what they dictated me to write down."

"We got into several arguments about the contents and the fact that they wanted to call it a confession," he said in a broadcast interview.

"The whole time I was there I thought any minute that I may have been shot, but they never came in to beat me up or anything," he said. "But it was always there in the back of my mind that I wasn't going to make it out."

Mr. Hall said in another interview that he had argued about the content of the statement for four or five days before signing and

that he regretted having cooperated to the extent that he did.

Mr. Hall said he still did not know how the light, unarmed helicopter he was flying with Warrant Officer M. David Hilemon, who was killed when the aircraft was downed, had strayed across the border.

"We had just discussed the fact that we were looking at the map and we were saying, 'Wait a minute. This doesn't look like what's supposed to be here,'" Mr. Hall said. "And about that time, when we said, 'Yep, we're right,' there was a loud explosion."

"I still haven't gotten a clear definition of what we had been shot or there was a mechanical problem on the aircraft that something blew up," he said. "But the windshield did cave in on us, and we lost engine power."

After the crash, Mr. Hall said, the helicopter went up in flames. He found Mr. Hilemon thrown from the craft, and a North Korean soldier helped him pull his dead co-pilot further from the wreckage.

## U.S. Agrees to Deliver Oil

WASHINGTON — North Korea is complying with an agreement to end its nuclear arms program, and the United States will begin sending oil to that country this month to generate electrical power, the Pentagon said Thursday.

Washington promised to provide the oil for temporary power and heat under North Korea's agreement to dismantle its nuclear power generators, which the CIA believes have helped Pyongyang produce one or two atomic devices.

U.S. military officials said that North Korea so far was complying with the agreement to shut down its reactors, store spent graphite fuel rods and allow international inspectors to watch over a process that could take 10 to 14 years to complete.

One official said that actual delivery of heavy bunker oil was to be made before the Jan. 23 deadline by two tankers in the first shipment of a promised 500,000 tons.

"The initial stage of compliance has been completed," the official said, referring to North Korea's action in ending operations at one major nuclear reactor and stopping construction at two others.

Sankei Shimshun of Japan reported that Japan would shoulder 30 percent of the cost. It said that South Korea would pay more than 50 percent as part of a consortium called the Korea Energy Development Organization.

The United States has been seeking assistance from wealthy oil-producing countries in the Middle East while Japan has asked the European Union to contribute.

The newspaper reported last week that Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and several other Middle East countries were expected to join the organization out of concern that North Korea, if pressed, could divert nuclear technology and components to Iran or Iraq.

(Reuters, AP)

## China Said To Arrest or Bar Exiles At Border

BEIJING — The Chinese government has a blacklist harrying dozens of dissidents now overseas from returning home, according to a human rights group that said it has obtained a copy of the document.

The existence of such a list has long been suspected as several political activists in recent years have been turned away at China's borders, according to the New York-based Human Rights Watch Asia.

It said the document, titled "A List of Forty-Nine Overseas Members of Reactionary Organizations currently Subject to Major Control," was distributed in May. Border control officials were allowed to have the document for only several days, during which time they were to memorize its contents, the group said.

Among those reportedly on the list are all of the most-wanted student leaders from the 1989 democracy movement who fled overseas. The list instructs border control officials to arrest these people immediately, the group said.

Chinese officials were not available to comment. The list also includes intellectuals who became politically active after leaving China, as well as dissidents whom the government allowed or persuaded to leave the country, the group said.

"The authorities allowed dissidents to leave, thereby appearing to appease human rights critics in the U.S., while at the same time they secretly pursued a policy of sending former political prisoners and other dissidents into involuntary exile abroad," the report said.

In some cases, the ban was ordered shortly before the activists were due to return, as in the case of Han Dongfang, a well-known activist, whom the government allowed to leave for a year of medical care in the United States, the group said. When he tried to return a year later, in 1993, he was barred by border guards.

## 17 U.K. Arrests Follow Animal-Rights Protest

SHOREHAM, England — The police said Thursday that they had arrested 17 animal-rights protesters who had been trying to halt a ferry shipment of live animals from this southern port to Dieppe, France.

On Monday and Tuesday, hundreds of demonstrators prevented nine trucks carrying calves and sheep from boarding the Dieppe ferry.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### UN Stretched Thin, Butros Ghali Says As He Seeks Rapid Deployment Unit

UNITED NATIONS, New York (Reuters) — Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali, implicitly conceding the United Nations had overreached in some of its military operations, acknowledged Thursday that the organization was not ready to impose peace through the use of force.

"Enforcement action at present is beyond the capacity of the United Nations except on a very limited scale," he said in a report to the Security Council. "It would be folly to attempt to alter this reality at the present time."

Mr. Butros Ghali, noting the difficulty in gathering troops once an operation was approved, said the council should consider a rapid deployment force for limited peacekeeping missions and have basic equipment in storage. "Nothing is more dangerous for a peacekeeping operation than to require it to use force when its existing composition, armament, logistical support and deployment deny it the capacity to do so," he said.

The United Nations, which now fields more than 70,000 troops in 17 peacekeeping missions, also lacks talent for some of the top posts, he said. He complained that member states did not provide enough senior people with diplomatic skills to go on sensitive peacekeeping missions or run complicated ventures that included elections and humanitarian aid.

### France Will Welcome Iraqi Official

PARIS (Reuters) — France said Thursday that it would officially receive Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq in a sign of warming relations with Iraq.

Mr. Aziz is to meet with Foreign Minister Alain Juppé on Friday, said the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Richard Duquet. "The new meeting between Juppé and Aziz will allow us to remind Iraq of the need to implement Security Council resolutions," Mr. Duquet said. "The lifting of sanctions depends on this."

Mr. Aziz and Mr. Juppé met in New York in September during a session of the United Nations General Assembly. Unlike Washington, France is lobbying for an easing of sanctions.

### Jordan's King Returns Cousin to Post

AMMAN, Jordan (Reuters) — The government resigned Thursday, allowing the return to power of Marshal Zeid bin Shaker, 60, a cousin and close friend of King Hussein who led the army for 12 years and was prime minister twice before. He replaces Abdul Salam Majali, prime minister since May 1993.

The king has routinely changed prime ministers in recent years. The latest switch was widely expected, since Mr. Majali's role had been seen mainly as securing peace with Israel. Jordan and Israel signed their treaty on Oct. 26.

### Manila Bars 8 on Eve of Papal Visit

MANILA (AP) — Immigration officials refused entry Thursday to eight Iranians suspected of planning disturbances during Pope John Paul II's visit to Manila next week. They were detained and were to be put on a flight back to Malaysia on Friday.

The Iranians, seven men and one woman, said they were on a business trip, then claimed to be tourists, according to Roberto Pelia, the immigration duty officer at the Manila airport. He said at least three of the Iranians carried "spurious" travel documents and none had hotel reservations.

### Pretoria Awaits Results of Inquiry

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) — The appointment of the Reverend Allan A. Boesak as South Africa's chief delegate to the United Nations in Geneva will be delayed until he has been cleared of charges he misused aid money intended for poor blacks, the government said Thursday.

Scandinavian aid agencies have said they were looking into allegations of misuse of anti-apartheid funds donated to Mr. Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice. The foundation received 7.2 million Danish kroner (\$1.16 million) over the past two years from the Lutheran aid organizations in Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Mr. Boesak denied he misused the aid money.

## Corrections

An article from Bonn in Wednesday's editions about a European Union plea to Moscow to broker a peace deal in Chechnya misreported the name of the spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry. He is Richard Duquet.

The headline on a dispatch from Brussels on Thursday's front page erroneously characterized action blocking a French effort to tighten European quotas on television programming. The project was blocked by Sir Leon Brittan, the EU trade commissioner, and not by the British government.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Italy Warns Travelers of Heavy Snow

ROME (AP) — Warning that more snow was predicted, for altitudes as low as 500 meters (1,650 feet), highway authorities urged travelers in much of the mountainous Abruzzo region and another southern area, Puglia, to avoid driving if possible. Rome was spared the snow that blanketed much of the center and south this week, but not the unusually chilly temperatures and wind. The temperature dropped to minus 2 centigrade (28 Fahrenheit) overnight, unusually cold for Rome.

At least 10 small towns in Puglia remained cut off by snow Thursday, Italian news agencies reported, and about a score more, mainly in the Gargano area, were without electricity for at least 48 hours. Gargano is the "spur" along the Adriatic on the boot-shaped peninsula.

Snow continued to fall in Umbria on Thursday but let up in the mountainous areas of Campania, near Naples. Firemen brought groceries to at least one town and isolated farmhouses blocked by snow in Campania, the Italian news agency ANSA reported. Some hydrofoil connections between Sicily and the tiny Aeolian island chain resumed Thursday after a suspension of several days because of wind-whipped seas.

The beaches of Sydney are free enough of pollution for safe swimming more than 90 percent of the time, the state Environment Protection Agency said, citing results of a five-year study of deep-water sewage outlets that replaced outlets close to shore. (AFP)

About 200 Danish and Norwegian pilots at the Scandinavian Airlines System unit SAS Commuter said they planned to go on strike Monday. They said negotiations on a new collective wage and conditions agreement have dragged on for a year. (AFP)

The airport at the Red Sea resort of Eilat, Israel, was closed for the day Thursday after a small fire sent smoke through the terminal's air-conditioning ducts. (AP)

American Eagle has resumed service from Chicago's O'Hare International Airport after a three-week halt. The commuter airline began flying to 28 Midwest cities after sending ATR aircraft, which have been banned from flying in icy weather, to warm-weather routes. It brought in Saab aircraft to make 114 daily departures from Chicago. (AP)

The French domestic carrier Air Inter nearly halved its cheapest fare from Paris to Toulouse to 450 francs (\$85) for a round-trip ticket, hitting back in a fledgling price war sparked by the opening up of French skies to private carriers. (AFP)

Indian Airlines plans to increase domestic fares by up to 20 percent to offset losses it suffered last year when the country was virtually quarantined because of an outbreak of plague, aviation sources said Thursday. (AFP)

A passenger train hit a derailed freight car Thursday near Rosenheim, Germany, causing long delays of rail traffic into Austria and Italy but no injuries. The express train was carrying vacationers from northern Germany to Austria. The collision occurred about 60 kilometers southeast of Munich. (AP)

The Catacombs of Paris, an eerie storage place for several million skeletons, will be closed to visitors for six months starting Jan. 14 while a climate-control system is installed. (AP)

## Ex-President of Malawi To Face Murder Charges

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BLANTYRE, Malawi — Malawi's government will charge former President Hastings Kamuzu Banda and his closest associate, John Tembo, with the 1983 murders of four politicians, government ministers said Thursday.

The ministers said at a news conference that the pair would be charged within 48 hours and they would very likely appear in court in four to six weeks.

"Banda is the principal defendant," said Information Minister Brown Mpinganjira. "There is evidence that the first order for the four to be killed was given by John Tembo."

Mr. Banda, self-proclaimed president for life, ruled Malawi for three decades after independence from Britain in 1964 until he was removed in Malawi's first multiparty elections, last May.

The government decided that Mr. Banda, who is in his 90s and in ill health after brain surgery, was too frail to be moved to jail. Defense Minister Kasim Chilumpha said. Instead, the government placed Mr. Banda under house arrest at his Mudi House home in Blantyre, Malawi's commercial capital.

A government-appointed commission investigating Mr. Banda said Wednesday that police-men, acting on official orders, had killed three cabinet ministers — Aaron Gadamu, Dick Matenje and Twaishu Sangala — and a member of Parliament, David Chisanga, in May 1983 and then disguised their deaths as a automobile accident.

Mr. Mpinganjira said the four apparently had been killed for opposing Mr. Tembo's appointment as acting president while Mr. Banda was abroad.

Mr. Tembo, who was detained Wednesday night, was

Mr. Banda's right-hand man and was regarded as the power behind the ailing president during the last decade of his rule.

A diplomat said he doubted Mr. Banda would stand trial because the inquiry commission had found him incapable of answering simple questions.

A former police inspector-general, MacWilliams Lunguzi, also was under arrest for allegedly destroying documents relating to the case and for ordering the destruction of the car. At least two other senior police officers were arrested.

Hundreds of Malawians poured into the streets of the country's main cities to celebrate the arrests.

Witnesses said demonstrations in Blantyre turned violent as protesters set fire to a building belonging to the Malawi Congress Party, whose president for life is still Mr. Banda. In Lilongwe, the capital, demonstrations were peaceful.

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

## Victor Riesel, Blinded Labor Writer, Dies

By Lawrence Van Gelder  
New York Times Service

Victor Riesel, a crusading syndicated labor columnist who was blinded by an acid attack in 1956, died Wednesday at his home in New York. He was 81.

The cause of death was a heart attack, according to his son, Michael.

Mr. Riesel was assaulted just after leaving a New York restaurant at 3 A.M. on April 5, 1956. An hour earlier, he had finished a radio broadcast in which he assailed the leadership of a Long Island local of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

"I wasn't important as a man, but I was important as a symbol," Mr. Riesel wrote later. "The attack on me was an attack on the entire free press, challenging its right to expose crime and injustice. In hitting me, the underworld was thumbing its nose at the community and the forces of law and order."

Accompanied by a friend and his secretary, Mr. Riesel was headed for his car on 51st Street that night when a young man emerged from the shadows near a theater.

"The acid caught me right between the eyes," he wrote. "One month later, doctors told Mr. Riesel that he would never see again."

"There was no terror at the moment when I knew I had crossed the line into permanent darkness," Mr. Riesel wrote. "There was only a sudden feeling of shame. I was afraid that people would treat me too gently or shy away from me as though from a freak. And suddenly, I wondered if I could go on writing and earning a living."

He did. Abe Telvi, the man accused of throwing the acid, was found shot to death in New York on July 28, 1956. There was a bullet in his head.

On Aug. 18, the FBI arrested

eight men and said the blinding was the work of garment district terrorists determined to silence Mr. Riesel.

Mr. Riesel never stopped inveighing against gangster infiltration and other corruption in labor unions.

His column was syndicated to as many as 350 newspapers. Until he retired about 1990, he typed his own columns. Mr. Riesel attributed his prowess at the keyboard to the fact that "I fell in love with my typing teacher."

Eduardo Mata, 52, Mexican Conductor  
NEW YORK (NYT) — Eduardo Mata, 52, a Mexican conductor who was the music director of the Dallas Symphony from 1977 to 1993, was killed Wednesday when the plane he was flying crashed near the Cuernavaca airport in Mexico.

He lived in Xochitepec, Mexico. Also killed in the crash was Maria Anya, a friend.

In his years on the Dallas podium, Mr. Mata improved the orchestra's performance standard and brought the ensemble into the national and international spotlight. He campaigned vigorously for the building of the Morton H. Meyerson Symphony Center, which opened in 1989.

Thomas A. Daffron Jr., 83, a former editor at The New York Times, died Wednesday at Sarasota Memorial Hospital in Sarasota, Florida, of heart and kidney failure.

Nina Leen, one of the first female photographers for Life magazine, died Sunday in New York. She was believed to be in her late 70s or early 80s.

Francis Lopez, 78, the king of French opera who composed more than 40 popular works and 1,000 tunes in a career spanning a half century, died Thursday in Paris of internal bleeding.



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# THE AMERICAS /

## A Spirit of Domestic Cooperation After Clinton Meets With Republicans

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Flanked by the new Republican leaders of Congress, President Bill Clinton on Thursday pledged that they would "work together to make things happen."

A day after their party's triumphant takeover of both houses, Republican leaders met with Mr. Clinton and Democratic congressional leaders at the White House to discuss the legislative agenda.

The House speaker, Newt Gingrich, said it was "a very, very positive meeting overall" and that there was "a very real willingness to try to find a way to try to work together."

"There were no lines drawn in the sand by any party to the meeting," said the leader of the Republican majority in the House, Richard K. Armey of Texas.

When reporters asked about differences with the administration, Mr. Gingrich beatifiedly accused them

of being destructive and said, "This is a different era with different ground rules."

Democrats, too, said they were ready to work with Republicans, but put limits on bipartisanship.

"We have to work with and compromise with Republicans," said the House minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri. "But we're not going to give up our basic beliefs."

The House minority whip, David E. Bonior, Democrat of Michigan, was more blunt.

"Frankly, we have major differences in who we represent," he said. "They represent the wealthy in this country."

The president said he hoped they could work together on lobbying and campaign finance reform, overhauling the welfare system, improving health care, congressional reforms and the line-item veto.

Later, at a news conference where he introduced the new White House press secretary, Michael

McCurry, Mr. Clinton said he was pleased with the meeting, "in terms of tone and substance."

He repeated his pledge to work together, saying that "people are sick, literally sick, of all this partisan infighting up here."

"I showed up here two years ago and I was revolted by it," he said, "and I think the American people are, too."

But Mr. Clinton's labor secretary, Robert Reich, harshly attacked the Republican program on Thursday, calling it irrelevant for America's middle class, and a "rerun of 12 years of stagnation or decline for most working Americans."

The White House meeting came after an opening legislative session Wednesday in which the House came under control of the Republicans for the first time in 40 years and the Senate returned to a Republican majority for the first time in eight.

"We were hired to do a job, and we have to start today to prove we'll do it," Mr. Gingrich told his

House's delegates after being elected speaker. The chamber's opening day, which usually is brief and ceremonial, began at noon and lasted just under 14½ hours.

In the chaos at the closing gavel, Mr. Gingrich thanked members on both sides of the aisle.

"It has been not only the longest and most workmanlike opening session, but one of the most productive sessions I think, for any single day in House history," he said.

The House approved a package of rule changes that were part of the "Contract With America" pledged by Republicans in September. Republican leaders say the changes are an attempt to make the House more open and responsive to the public.

Although the changes were campaign promises of Republicans, most of their Democratic counterparts joined in overwhelming votes to approve them. Only a requirement of a two-thirds vote to approve increases in income tax rates and term limits for

committee chairmen and for the speaker drew much Democratic opposition.

Among the other changes passed were measures to cut the number of House committees and committee staff by a third, and to eliminate proxy votes.

The House also voted to strip the District of Columbia of its largely symbolic vote on the floor of Congress. The vote, which split along party lines, reversed an action taken two years ago by the Democratic majority that then controlled the House to give the D.C. delegate, currently a Democrat, a floor vote, over the Republicans' objections.

In its first roll call of the year Thursday, the Senate voted, 76 to 19, to reject a plan by Senators Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, and Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, to weaken the use of filibusters, which are delays used by outnumbered senators to block legislation.

(AP, W.P. Bloomberg)

## Elegance and Power Settle In So How Does It Feel? It's Sort of Like Love

By Maureen Dowd  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Tony Blankley, Newt Gingrich's sybaritic spokesman, was sitting in his new office in the Capitol, enjoying the view from the top.

His wine glasses, champagne glasses and brandy glasses were on a shelf of the bookcase. His Winston's were on his desk. "And soon," promised this loyal soldier in the Republican revolution of austerity, "I'll be getting a cappuccino maker in here."

While the new members of the 104th Congress were on the floor Wednesday arguing about revising and extending, allowing and amending — and sounding disturbingly like the 103d Congress — Mr. Blankley was looking at the big picture.

Feeding the maw of Newt-o-mania, he briefed reporters on Mr. Gingrich's morning. "At 7:30, he went to the takeout in the basement of the House for coffee, black, and a banana, yellow," the aide said. Pressed for more details, he complied: "Yellow, with little brown stripes indicating ripeness within."

Mr. Blankley, 46, comfortable in blue shirt sleeves ending in starched white French cuffs and elegant cuff links, seemed well pleased with the classical murals decorating the walls of his new lair in the speaker's suite: lovely, barefoot women in gauzy, strapless gowns floating on a background of Pompeii red.

"My little busses," he said, gazing up at the murals and savoring the possessive pronoun.

The House curator's office confirmed that the women in the century-old murals painted by George Maynard are suitable for a sophisticate like Mr. Blankley, who had a prior career as a child movie star, growing up in Hollywood as the son of a co-producer of Columbia Pictures. They are muses, the female followers of Dionysus who took part in Bacchanalian rites.

Asked how it felt to inherit the earth, Mr. Blankley did not resort to the official talking points handed out by the House Republican Conference, which advised Republicans to talk about their resumption of leadership after 40 years as "The Dawn of a New Era."

"It's sort of like love," Mr. Blankley replied. "You can have it described to you intellectually. But you don't really understand the feeling until you experience it. Nothing compares to love, but this is a close second."

Sonny Bono was an object of curiosity, of course.

When the clerk of the House called out "Bono," during the roll-call vote to elect the speaker of the House, the congressman from Palm Springs, California, did not sing out "I Got You, Gingrich." He merely answered "Gingrich," like all the other Republicans.

But the familiarity of that high-pitched voice in such a formal setting caused some of his colleagues to start giggling anyhow.

Mr. Bono, a genial man in a double-breasted gray suit who looked quite at home in his new surroundings, joined in the merriment.

There were also fans following in the wake of the very tanned majority leader of the Senate as he walked through the Capitol, to shake his hand or ask how he was enjoying the Republican takeover.

"I knew it would happen someday," Senator Bob Dole replied. "I'm just glad I was alive."

But the elephant's share of the attention continued to go to the white-haired George Washington of the revolution.

Everywhere the buttons could be seen: "Under New Management," and "Friends of Newt." Young Republicans have been wearing tartan ties to emulate their leader, who was Newt. McPherson Jr. before he was adopted by his stepfather, Robert Gingrich.

About 200 Georgians, who arrived in town on Tuesday night on the Speaker's Express from Atlanta, a chartered plane for supporters, were milling around Congress on Wednesday morning, waiting for a photo opportunity with their hero.

It was clear that Mr. Gingrich was already taking on mythic proportions.

"He cares nothing about power," said John Gipsen, a real estate developer from Atlanta and friend of Newt.

"He just wants to take the burden of government off the people's back."

There were a few dissenters to be found around the Capitol, however.

"I generally hit the mute button when he comes on," said Wayne Bateman of Pasadena, California, who was having lunch with his wife in the cafeteria while the speaker delivered his inaugural address.

"He's a complete and total phony."



J. D. Hayworth, Republican of Arizona, holding up his one-year-old son as he and other House members recited the Pledge of Allegiance before taking their oaths of office.

## POLITICAL NOTES

### Heavy Static From the Capitol Basement

WASHINGTON — After years of shouting in the political wilderness, a cacophony of talk radio, conducted by some conservative hosts and some who are not — rose up from a dingy room in the Capitol basement in the heart of the place that many of them consider the epitome of waste, corruption and out-of-touch politicians: Washington.

Some came to have their egos stroked. Some came to gain a ratings edge. But others say they are in Washington simply because it's where the big story is.

"This is the center of the action," said Dave Ross, a Seattle-based talk show host.

John Carlson, who has a talk show on another Seattle radio station, agreed. "I haven't felt this much excitement about genuine change since I arrived here just out of college in '81 in the heyday of the Reagan revolution," Mr. Carlson said. "I wanted to see it close up. I wanted to see the old guard packing their bags and the new guard taking office."

None of the talk show hosts who were broadcasting at the time the new House convened witnessed anything except each other. They were lined up cheek by jowl in three makeshift booths in a Spartan room, each intent on making his or her int.

Not all talk show hosts felt a burning need to be in Washington, however. The office of Rush Limbaugh, the Babe Ruth of the talk show circuit, said he was on vacation and was not attending the new Congress's opening. (NYT)

### A Black Republican Breaks New Ground

WASHINGTON — When Republican presidential hopefuls compete in a Louisiana Republican straw poll this weekend in Baton Rouge, the contestants will include Alan L. Keyes, the first black Republican ever to set up a presidential exploratory committee.

Mr. Keyes, 44, who twice sought unsuccessfully a U.S. Senate seat from Maryland, has opened headquarters for his presidential campaign in Atlanta in an effort to develop a Southern base.

Although Republican professionals question whether he can raise enough money to sustain his candidacy, backers are counting on grass-roots support for his brand of conservative populism, which includes opposition to the new world trade agreement and abortion. "We're already getting African-American converts from the Democratic Party," said the campaign's finance chairman, Art Rocker. (WP)

### A Republican Targets Socks's Pen Pals

WASHINGTON — Even Socks, the presidential family's cat, is not safe from the budget-cutting fervor of the new Republican-controlled Congress.

On the opening day of the new 104th Congress, Representative Danny L. Burton, Republican of Indiana, took aim at the White House operation that answers the cat's fan mail.

"This is the same type of waste the American public wants to get rid of," Mr. Burton said. "I mean, spending their tax dollars on a fan club for the president's cat. The people have spoken, but the president doesn't seem to have listened."

"Don't get me wrong," he added, "I love animals and have both a cat and a dog, but I cannot imagine the justification for spending tens of thousands of dollars to fund a return-mail operation for a cat." (Reuters)

### Quote/Unquote

The CBS News anchor Connie Chung, on Representative Newt Gingrich's charge that her interview with his mother-in-law was "unprofessional and disrespectful": "I think he's doing what politicians always do in a case like this. They turn the controversial statements they've made away from themselves. He's trying to deflect attention from what he said about the first lady of the United States. And he didn't deny saying it." (WP)

## Away From Politics

- The man accused of killing two abortion-clinic workers in Massachusetts has agreed to return to Boston, where he will face murder charges. John C. Salvi 3d waived a hearing in Norfolk, Virginia, where he was held in connection with another attack on an abortion clinic. No one was injured in the attack in Virginia, and that state has deferred prosecution. Mr. Salvi has said he hoped to get the death penalty if convicted and to become a priest if acquitted. (AP)
- A South Korean woman who died when struck by a subway train in New York allegedly was pushed from the platform. The police have a suspect in the death of Soon Shin, 63, an immigrant to the United States. The suspect was identified as Rubin Harris, 42, who is believed to be homeless. (AFP)
- Five Thai nationals have been charged with smuggling Thai women to the United States and forcing them to work as prostitutes in a brothel in New York's Chinatown section, the U.S. attorney's office in Manhattan said. (AFP)
- About 400 moose have been killed in collisions with vehicles in southcentral Alaska this winter as deep snow has driven the animals from mountains to more perilous grounds, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game said. (Reuters)
- Two hundred U.S. Border Patrol agents will be added in San Diego, California, as part of a crackdown on illegal immigration from Mexico, Attorney General Janet Reno said. (LAT)

## Tax-Panel Chief Makes a Gesture to Democrats

By Eric Pianin  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The new chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, sounding a conciliatory note, said that Republicans would be open to suggestions from President Bill Clinton and congressional Democrats in shaping the final version of major tax-cut legislation.

The chairman, Bill Archer of Texas, also pledged swift committee action on the Republicans' Contract With America proposals for a \$500-per-child tax credit for families earning up to \$200,000, a 50 percent reduction in the capital gains tax, generous new corporate and business write-offs and other measures.

But he acknowledged that some of the proposals would have to be revised to survive House-Senate negotiations and to avoid a presidential veto.

Mr. Clinton and the new House minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, have floated their own proposals for middle-class tax relief since the Republicans won control of Congress Nov. 8, pledging major tax cuts and a balanced budget.

Mr. Archer will probably unveil a detailed tax plan some time in early March. He hinted Wednesday that the committee might take up a Republican welfare reform plan before then because the proposal would produce cost savings that could be credited to financing the tax package. Informal five-year cost estimates of the plan range from \$150 billion to \$250 billion.

## Texan Who Was Executed Cried 'Murder'

By Sue Anne Pressley  
Washington Post Service

AUSTIN, Texas — Jesse DeWayne Jacobs did not go quietly to his death for a murder that prosecutors conceded his sister had committed.

"I have news for all of you — there is not going to be an execution. This is premeditated murder by the state of Texas," Mr. Jacobs declared in a strong, clear voice moments before he died of a lethal injection Wednesday in the death chamber in Huntsville.

"I hope in my death, I'm that little bit of snowball that starts to bury the death penalty," he had concluded.

The execution of Mr. Jacobs, 44, a lifelong criminal with a prior murder conviction, drew outrage from as far away as Washington and the Vatican. But here in Texas, the first execution of the new year was carried out with a minimum of protest. Only a handful of demonstrators stood at the edge of the prison compound as Mr. Jacobs was put to death.

To death-penalty opponents, the case underscored the inherent injustice of the nation's system for dealing with people convicted of capital crimes. Although Mr. Jacobs was convicted in 1987 for slaying Etta Urdiales, a 25-year-old mother of two, the same prosecutor later gained conviction of Mr. Jacobs's sister, Bobbie Jean Hogan, saying he had come to believe Ms. Hogan, not Mr. Jacobs, had pulled the trigger.

Mr. Jacobs said he initially took the blame for the murder "for the love of a sister." Ms. Hogan, who was convicted of involuntary manslaughter, is serving a 10-year prison term and will soon be eligible for parole.

The authorities say that because Mr. Jacobs was an admitted accomplice, it does not matter that he did not pull the trigger.

"I'm open to the suggestion that possibly he wasn't the triggerman," said Peter Speers, who prosecuted Mr. Jacobs. "The circumstances, nonetheless, would make him guilty of capital murder."

The case burst into prominence this week when the U.S. Supreme Court refused, by a 6-to-3 decision, to hear Mr. Jacobs's appeal.

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## Changing of the Guard

### The Gingrich Paradox

There is no way of telling yet whether Newt Gingrich's inaugural speech to the House of Representatives on Wednesday was a genuine expression of born-again statesmanship or a brilliant tactical exercise. One hopes the former is true, that his gracious speech was not merely a masterly effort to make his "Contract With America" more palatable, but the emergence of a politician larger and more generous than his agenda. In any case, it was a surprising and startlingly effective performance — animated, anecdotal, humane. It also left little doubt that, at least for the moment, Newt Gingrich is America's pivotal political figure, Bill Clinton and Bob Dole included.

There is no telling how long the speaker's magnanimity will last; it certainly was not in evidence during the snarling press conference that preceded his swearing-in. But once he took the gavel, he could hardly have done a better job of portraying his avowedly partisan "Contract With America" as an inclusive and nonthreatening document that even his opponents could embrace without fear. Nor could he have been more energetic in his efforts — we are "commoners together," he said of the House — to invite his critics' help.

The man who vowed to dismantle much of the welfare state paid effusive tribute to its chief architect, Franklin Roosevelt. The partisan who has spent every second of his waking life over the past 10 years seeking to create a Republican hegemony gave exclusive credit to the Democrats for bringing about desegregation. The man seen as insensitive to the underclass declared that even his cherished balanced budget does not have "the moral urgency of coming to grips with what's happening to the poorest Americans."

Mr. Gingrich had a wider audience in mind than the Democrats — a public that volcanically expressed its disgust with the way Washington, and in particular Congress, runs itself. His stated determination to make the House an open, responsive institution contrasted

refreshingly with the business-as-usual approach of the old leadership. The new majority missed a coup in not swiftly adding the Democrats' belated gift ban to Mr. Gingrich's own proposals to clean up committee rules and open the House to more television coverage.

The emotional high point was Mr. Gingrich's warning to his own party that privatization and profits cannot override the need for caring social programs. The lingering question, of course, is how to square the inclusive rhetoric with its divisive budget strategies.

Applause for Mr. Gingrich's political resolve should not drown out criticism of his many misguided proposals. He backs tax cuts that he says will help middle-class families and stimulate economic growth. But the proposed cuts on capital gains, corporate investment, and retirement savings — are ill designed to promote savings and investment and, as Representative Richard Gephardt argues, tilt toward those with incomes over \$200,000.

Since Social Security, Medicare and defense are exempt, the House Republicans' desired \$200 billion in spending cuts would have to come from programs on which Congress now spends about \$450 billion. That means cutting about 40 percent of every remaining program from border patrol to medical research.

This points up the central injustice — and hypocrisy — about the way Mr. Gingrich wants to go about reform. He pledges to balance the budget by aiming spending cuts at the most underfunded citizens. Meanwhile, the well-off would get subsidies through the tax system for such benefits as unlimited mortgage interest deductions or high-cost health insurance. So, in its current rendition, his fiscal austerity is inherently unfair.

He hinted that middle-class entitlements like Medicare and farm subsidies, as well as defense, would eventually bear some of the burden. That suggestion and his speech raise the hope that this unusual man's zeal for reform may, in time, be tempered by grander impulses toward mercy and equity.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

### It Was a Good Speech

That was a magnanimous and — who knows? — perhaps even useful speech Newt Gingrich gave before taking the oath as speaker on Wednesday. He seemed to be trying to crack the mold of what has been too long a stale and empty debate between the parties — stale on both sides, each determinedly ignoring its own weaknesses while creating a kind of cardboard cutout of the other's positions, the easier to knock them down. On behalf of his party, Mr. Gingrich made an important concession to the Democrats, then asked for one in return.

His was a tribute to their past accomplishments. "No Republican here should kid themselves about it. The greatest leaders in fighting for an integrated America in the 20th century were in the Democratic Party. The fact is it was the liberal wing of the Democratic Party that ended segregation. The fact is that was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who gave hope to a nation that was in despair and could have slid into dictatorship. And the fact is every Republican has much to learn from studying what the Democrats did right."

What he asked the Democrats to acknowledge in return is that all too often present federal programs aren't working, and particularly aren't working well for precisely those groups whose interests the Democratic Party most seeks to protect. "I would say to my friends in the Demo-

cratic Party that there's much to what Ronald Reagan was trying to get done; there is much to what is being done today by Republican governors. "We must replace the welfare state... The balanced budget is the right thing to do. But it doesn't, in my mind, have the moral urgency of coming to grips with what's happening to the poorest Americans." He spoke of the problem of violence among inner-city children — "an 11-year-old buried with his Teddy bear because he killed a 14-year-old and then another 14-year-old killed him... How can we not decide that this is a moral crisis equal to segregation, equal to slavery?"

He "would say to those Republicans who believe in total privatization that they were living in a dream world. "And I would say to my friends on the left who believe that there's never been a government program that wasn't worth keeping, you can't look at some of the results we now have and not want" to tear the present programs apart.

He is right about that. He suggests that there is a middle ground and that the Republicans (who otherwise describe themselves as bent on a revolution) have found it. That is part of what the coming months of debate will be about. But it is for them. The speaker has a more interesting sense of where the country ought to go and how it ought to function than his critics allow. It was a good speech.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Disaster for Yeltsin and Russia

Russia's intervention in Chechnya has become the disaster that Boris Yeltsin assured the world would not happen. Already the international community is gearing up for the first humanitarian crisis of the year as the refugee flood swells to 100,000 people. It is obvious the situation is going to get far worse.

—The Jerusalem Post.

The assault on Grozny is a tragedy for Russia as well as for the people of Chechnya, and a display of tactical folly. This is not a war between armies but an act of armed suppression that violates the human rights of the civilian victims.

—The Guardian (London).

President Yeltsin must regret his decision to declare war on Chechnya. The resistance his troops have met there proves that his goal could never be achieved by a mere show of strength.

His decision to proceed with brute force has jeopardized what was already a precar-

ious administration and also the future of a federal Russia. And if the war continues for another month, it will do untold damage to Russia's macroeconomic policy.

—Clarín (Buenos Aires).

### A Plea for Civility in the House

Ten years ago, Ronald Reagan was president, the speaker of the House was Tip O'Neill and Newt Gingrich was a back-bench minority congressman who vowed to use "guerrilla warfare" to break the Democrats' hold on the House.

Now Mr. Reagan has Alzheimer's disease, Mr. O'Neill is dead and Mr. Gingrich is the man of the House, the first Republican speaker since 1955.

Mr. Gingrich may find that what worked for him as a guerrilla fighter will be seen as bullying when he is speaker. Will Democrats now switch to guerrilla tactics, with truth squads and theme teams and packs of hungry Gingrich Jr.s? We urge both sides to keep the debate civil.

—San Antonio (Texas) Express-News.

## National Crisis: Russia's Fate in the Balance in Chechnya

By Flora Lewis

they are easily seen as ludicrous, showing panic, not mastery control.

It denies that this is a war, admitting only a "police action" to "disarm the armed bandits" and "help the Chechen people." It claims that the army is being withdrawn and replaced by Interior Ministry troops, that the Chechens are bombing and shelling themselves, that Grozny has fallen but the assault must be redoubled.

Correspondents who recently returned to Moscow say they did not bother to listen to communiqués and official claims. They just drove to see what happened, at great risk but with little interference. This is very new in Russia, and it makes a big difference. The Chechens, although disorganized, understand that and tell them "you are one of our best weapons."

Sebastian Smith of Agence France-Presse said that made him uneasy, but he like the others was under the bombing and shelling and was not about to deny that it was happening. For the first time, Russians watched on television how their men were fighting and dying.

Moskovskaya Komissiya, which has no love for Defense Minister Pavel Grachev

because of the murder of its correspondent who was investigating Defense Ministry corruption, published a picture of the minister at the battlefield. He stands smiling broadly in a field littered with corpses of Russian soldiers. It won't be easy to muzzle this freedom of information — only with a new terror that would provoke people who already know too well where it can lead.

Another revelation is the disarray, disorder and demoralization of the once formidable Russian army. AFP's Mr. Smith said the only Russians he saw were dead, all in their teens. New Russian prisoners say in interviews that they are youngsters who were told they weren't being sent to fight, only to be stationed in Chechnya, and they didn't know what it was all about.

Stephen Erlanger of The New York Times said this use of ill-trained recruits, with better forces to the rear, indicated that the Dec. 11 attack was mounted hastily after the failure of the not-so-covert "rebel" operation in November, without adequate intelligence or preparation.

It is a terrible humiliation for the Russian military establishment. Their quarrels and disagreement are evident. So long as he is left in charge, General Grachev's response is to become ever more fierce, but he can't even rely on the army, having

disgusted his initial supporters. He can only look to his Kremlin court.

As the war continues, it sinks the Russian budget and endangers the IMF stabilization loans whose conditions Moscow won't be able to meet. Some critics believe that this is deliberate, in order to triple the already hefty military budget (22 percent of the total) and kill economic reforms. There is talk of renationalizing some industries.

The odds have shifted against the kind of reasonably stable, friendly Russia the West so hoped to see. But the crisis — and it should be seen as a national, not just a Caucasian, crisis — also shows that enough has happened in five years for a new base to emerge that could redress those odds.

Mr. Yeltsin seems to be at about the point where Mikhail Gorbachev was at the time of the August 1991 coup, losing his grip on the brink. There isn't likely to be any middle way left for him, either, now. If he doesn't pull back sharply and rededicate himself to reform and democracy, he will be swept over.

The West must recover its sense of basic goals, addressing not the fate of the leader but the fate of the country, which indeed concerns it. The kind of Russia the world will have to live with is in the balance.

© Flora Lewis.

## Russia's Democratic Hopes Hijacked on the Road to Chechnya

By Yelena Bonner

JERUSALEM — All the democratic ideals President Boris Yeltsin has proclaimed in the past have been betrayed by his military assault on Chechnya.

With this act, Mr. Yeltsin has crossed a Rubicon that will turn Russia back into a police state.

By attempting to crush the aspirations of the Chechen people using army and Interior Ministry troops, Mr. Yeltsin has revealed that brutal force is his preferred method for dealing with anyone who disagrees with central control from the Kremlin. Police methods we thought had been buried along with totalitarianism are now poised to return.

The democratic hopes invested in the Russian president, it is now apparent, have been hijacked. He has fallen under the influence of the old but still powerful military-industrial complex, as well as the new oil cartels in Russia that cannot afford to lose Chechnya's rich resources.

There is also a political element in the attack on Grozny: Mr. Yeltsin has sought to shore up his flagging popularity among ordinary Russians by being tough on the Chechen rebels.

The bloodshed in Chechnya must lead not only to a general reassessment of Mr. Yeltsin's presidency but to a reassessment

of the attitudes of the Western democracies and the United Nations toward self-determination.

Defense of territorial integrity is the right of states; self-determination is a human right. After all the state-sponsored horrors of the 20th century, aren't we prepared at last to agree that human rights should take priority over the rights of states?

Yet, the Americans and most European states have declared the war in Chechnya to be an "internal Russian affair." Only belatedly has the Council of Europe expressed concern over the excessive brutality of the Russian

assault and the widespread violations of human rights.

Defending a state's integrity against the demands of individuals and cultures, whether in Chechnya, Karabakh or Kurdistan, inevitably will lead to the use of force and the violation of human rights. It will lead to upheaval.

What is necessary to attain peace and stability in today's world is an attitude of cooperation — within state borders or between recognized states and those seeking autonomy or secession. This approach will accommodate the demand of self-determination through new forms of confederation or commonwealth. Working out the mechanisms of

such relationships is the most acute problem not only in Russia but in much of the world today.

If this subject is not taken up with the greatest urgency by the United Nations as well as the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, these bodies will become mere shadow versions of the failed League of Nations, and the world will become one huge battlefield.

Rather than express alarm at human rights violations after the fact, these organizations need to act ahead of time to work out political arrangements to avoid such tragedies as Chechnya.

As we have seen in Bosnia, once the bloodshed has begun it is almost impossible to establish normal relations that would lead to enduring stability. Instead, endless cycles of hatred and violence take hold.

In Chechnya, Mr. Yeltsin could have taken a democratic course the way he did last spring when he signed a special political accord with the president of Tatarstan to accommodate Tatar demands.

Apparently calculating that the Chechens were so weak that they could be suppressed by brute force, Mr. Yeltsin and those around him chose the military option. They launched a campaign of lies that painted Chechnya as a land of bandits, and they refused to conduct serious negotiations with Chechen leaders.

The most important thing that can be done now within Russia is to mobilize public pressure

through a broad anti-war movement. An important element in this mobilization is already underway. Some Russian legislators have courageously gone to Grozny despite the heavy fighting to witness the horrible truth of what is happening so that they can puncture the lies of official propaganda.

We must also admire the bravery of the Russian military commanders who have refused to follow orders to use force against Chechen civilians.

A key task of the anti-war movement will be to remind Russian troops of the rulings of war crimes tribunals after World War II that soldiers are not obliged to carry out criminal orders to assault civilian populations.

From the outside, the stable Western democracies must employ all diplomatic means to pressure Mr. Yeltsin to call off his assault and negotiate with the Chechen leaders.

Figures of international civil society, such as Jimmy Carter, the former U.S. president, should fly to Moscow and seek observer status in Chechnya. I am convinced that this is the only way to stop the violence from spreading.

What is at stake are not just the lives of innocent civilians in Chechnya, the local partisans and the Russian troops. What is at stake is the democratic path Russia has embarked upon since the collapse of totalitarianism.

The writer, widow of Andrei Sakharov, is a prominent Russian human rights activist. She contributed this comment to New Perspectives Quarterly.

The writer, a visiting scholar at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, was Ukraine's minister of defense from 1991 to 1993. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## The New Russia Reverts To the Grasp of Empire

By Kostantin Morozov

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts

—There is no discernible difference between Soviet and Russian policies. In 1989, Soviet troops broke up a peaceful demonstration in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, leaving scores of dead and wounded. In 1991, Soviet forces brought order to Lithuania and blood flowed in the streets of Vilnius. In 1992, these forces, now Russian, provided arms to Russian separatists fighting the government of independent Moldova.

Since he took power in 1991, Boris Yeltsin has been ordering his armies to protect Russian interests in other countries, not to mention the Russian Federation. The West's wait-and-see attitude has emboldened Russia.

In early 1994, Mr. Yeltsin, Russia's military leaders and its diplomats began to demand that the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe sanction its aggressive actions by recognizing its troops as "peacekeepers."

Chechnya is no exception to the international policy that Russia has thus established. Russia's ambitions are based on its politicians' modest desire to assume the powers of the former Soviet Union.

The question is how different Russia's current leaders really are from their Soviet predecessors.

While their predecessors often sought to conceal their actions from the world and their own people, the leaders of the new Russia do not even heed world opinion. They are, after all, the leaders of a powerful state. With the United States, Russia has an understanding, a tacit partnership. Thus, no condemnation is expected from that quarter.

Why speak of Chechnya, part of the Russian Federation, when even Ukraine has been relegated to the status of a former Soviet republic and considered to fall in the Russian sphere of influence?

Are the military operations in Chechnya an internal affair of the Russian state, or is the assault on Grozny an act of aggression? If the world ponders the question long enough, it may become moot, and no one will have to fret any longer over what to call it.

Ukraine also must deal with Russia — not only as a neighbor but as the "big brother" of any state that falls in the territory of the former Soviet Union. This is how Russia views its role.

Russia's campaign for international recognition of this role has met with some successes. One was the concession by the West that led to the Partnership for Peace, when Russia used its muscle to prevent the former Warsaw Pact



By TOM IN TOWN (Amsterdam, C&amp;W Syndicate).

nations from joining NATO. Their secondary status would appear to leave the former Soviet republics even more out in the cold.

Another was the State Department's reorganization of its European bureau last year. In both instances, Ukraine was relegated to Russia's sphere of influence.

As long as the West concedes to Moscow paramount authority in its part of the world, Russia will have a mandate to seek restoration of its empire. This threatens to undermine Ukraine's future as a democracy.

Perhaps the West does not care exactly how democracy takes root in the former Soviet republics — individually or in an integrated commonwealth under Russian hegemony. The West seems concerned only that it not face the threat from Russia that it faced from the Soviet Union.

## Where Is the Moral Leader of the West?

By John J. Maresca

PARIS — What happens when the president of the United States abdicates his role as the single most important voice of moral authority in the Western World? That is what has happened as Russian forces, under order from President Boris Yeltsin, have proceeded to bomb and shell the Chechens, in an apparent attempt to either force their submission or simply eliminate them.

President Bill Clinton has called the episode an "internal" Russian matter, and has expressed hope that the Russians will carry out their repression as quickly as possible. Meanwhile, the spokesman of the U.S. State Department has compared the attack on Chechnya with the American Civil War, making the point that even in America a secession was prevented by force.

Is Mr. Clinton suggesting that the Russians should apply even greater force, so as to eliminate the Chechens more quickly than they already appear to be doing? If so, what will be left in Chechnya?

Is the State Department suggesting that the brutal 300-year Russian effort to conquer or eliminate the Chechens is somehow the same as the cause of maintaining the American Union amid political differences over the issue of slavery? That Boris Yeltsin is a sort of Abraham Lincoln? That 1860 is the same as 1992?

All of this lies in the face of history, logic and the most elementary moral principles.

The fact is that the White House, and the president who resides there, have in our time acquired a central responsibility as the West's voice of moral authority, and President Clinton has ab-

dicated this role in the way he has treated the Chechen crisis.

The Russians, and particularly President Yeltsin, are guilty of brutal repression of the Chechens, against all standards of human rights and numerous specific commitments under the United Nations Charter.

The countries of the European Union, to their credit, have made a demarche to the Russian foreign minister deploring the excessive use of force against the Chechens, and have condemned, albeit hesitantly, the human rights violations of this Russian venture.

They have even proposed a halfhearted solution, namely the sending of CSCE monitors to Chechnya. This could be a worthwhile step if carried out immediately, because it might at least forestall the vicious Russian bombardment that has been targeting anything that moves, and would help the international community to bypass the contention that Chechnya is a purely internal Russian problem.

The United States should move quickly to support this European suggestion and to reassert its traditional leadership role on this deeply offensive moral issue. The Russians should be vigorously pressured to resolve the problem of Chechnya through negotiation, not of force. Yeltsin is not Lincoln, and this is not 1860.

The writer was U.S. ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1989 to 1992. He was deputy U.S. negotiator of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and is author of a book, "To Helsinki," about those negotiations. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

"worse alternative." And the prospects are that with this kind of encouragement from the leader of the Western world, a desperate Yeltsin will move even further in the direction of the aggressive Russian nationalism that the West so rightly fears.

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### 1895: Dreyfus Degraded

PARIS — "Je suis innocent! Je jure que je suis innocent!" was the cry raised by Alfred Dreyfus yesterday (Jan. 5) as he stood alone, the object of universal execration, in the center of the court of the Ecole Militaire, hemmed in on all sides by detachments of the army of France. After an instant of silence, General Darras, fixing his eyes on the culprit, pronounced the formal condemnation: "Dreyfus, you are unworthy to bear arms. In the name of the President of the Republic, we degrade you." And from afar came the cry of the crowd: "A mort!"

### 1920: Mammoth Plane

LONDON — M. Fokker has just completed his plans for a mammoth aeroplane capable of transporting sixty persons at a time. The machine, which will be built

soon, will have six engines and will have a speed of 75 miles an hour. It is destined to make long trips, but not over the sea.

### 1945: The Polish Issue

LONDON — In a major policy break with the other big powers, Russia today (Jan. 5) recognized the Lublin Poles as the Provisional Government of Poland after the British government had informed the Kremlin that it would refuse to abandon the London Poles. The significance of this blow to tri-power unity was highlighted by the coincidence that the Soviet announcement came almost simultaneously with President Roosevelt's announcement that the meeting of the "Big Three" will occur after January 20 (Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration). The issue will test whether opinion will favor going along with Russia at all costs to protect the tri-power alliance.

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OPINION

March On, Conservatives, But Kindly Cut the Hubris

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Two years ago, amid inaugural hoo-hah, the Clintonites puffed themselves up and lurched leftward. Now, revealing in quasi-inaugural media hype, the New Dealers are marching in the opposite direction in a state of similar certitude.

If conservatives are going to shrink government and expand individual freedom, we must first cut the hubris.

1. Battle of the Branches.

Hubris: After six decades of presidential domination, punctuated by periods of liberal judicial activism, the locus of American government

If New Dealers are to avoid the trap the Clintonites fell into, they must resist the cult of personality, turn the great ship slowly and above all eschew pride.

power has at last shifted back where the Founders intended: to Congress, the branch closest to the people.

Reality: One year from now, Speaker Newt Gingrich will be running for president on the theory that only from the White House can the nascent "Opportunity Society" be brought to term. Never mind the exciting year of the new majority's kept promises and the minority's mounting resistance; the man event will not be the congressional elections but the presidential election.

2. The Generational Ripoff.

Hubris: A resurgence of self-reliance, family responsibility and spiritual affirmation will break the shackles of welfareism that burden the taxpayer and demean the recipients.

Reality: Deficits are being caused less by helping the poor than by the aged and elderly of all incomes ripping off the young and middle-aged.

Half a trillion of the U.S. budget goes for Social Security and Medicare, while the other half-trillion goes to defense and all other discretionary spending. Cutting the budget will require cutting the elderly's half, but Clinton campaign demagoguery frightened off New Dealers drawing up their contract.

That is why — by necessary stealth — they will have to build in tax incentives for families to take care of grandparents, make retirement accounts tax-free and otherwise reward the thrifty. It is the only

Time for Graying America to Redo Its Retirement Sums

By Jessica Mathews

WASHINGTON — Happy New Year — you're a year older. If it's any consolation, you're not alone. Collectively, we are the oldest humans who have ever lived, and we are rapidly getting older.

After thousands of years in which the age structure stayed constant — held in check by infectious disease and what now seem astronomical child and maternal death rates — the 20th century has seen a rapid

MEANWHILE

shift. Less than 1 percent of the world's population was aged 65 or older in 1900. Today the figure is 6 percent, heading toward 20 percent by 2050. Among all the changes of a consequential century, this may prove to be one of the greatest.

The United States is way ahead of the global curve. Those over 65 are already 12 percent of the population and may be 25 percent by midcentury. Unless Social Security and Medicare, the principal age-triggered entitlement programs, change commensurately, and very soon, America will march into a devastating financial trap.

The crunch will come about 2010 when the baby boomers begin to retire. In just one decade, while the population grows by 2 percent, the number of retirees will swell by 30 percent. Instead of five Americans working to support one retiree, there will be only three.

deficits (federal and state) will balloon out of control no matter how much other programs are cut; those who are working will have to pay much higher taxes; or retirees will receive considerably lower benefits.

The fair and stunningly simple alternative is to raise the retirement age. After all, when Social Security was enacted, life expectancy was only 62 — three years less than retirement with full benefits. Today life expectancy in America is 76 and still climbing.

In 1940 an American could expect to spend 7 percent of his or her adult life in retirement. Today that has almost quadrupled, to 26 percent, and a long retirement has become a general expectation, if not a right. But how long? Steadily lengthening life expectancy could mean that in the not too distant future an average retiree might draw benefits for 30 years and spend more than one-third of his or her adult life in retirement. Social Security was never intended to bear such a burden.

The logical fix is to link retirement age to growing life expectancy, either by periodically picking a rising age — 70 would be reasonable now — or by agreeing on a percentage, perhaps one-fifth of adult life, that would be spent in retirement.

Two scientific unknowns complicate deciding on what the society can afford. First, no one knows how far life expectancy will climb. Over time, differences of a few years could multiply the numbers of Social Security and Medicare recipients several fold.

The other enigma is whether, as people live longer, the aging process will start later and occupy the same (or fewer) years before death or whether people who live longer will simply spend more years with the disabilities of old age. In other words, as better health and medical care extend life, will the length of old age stay the same, grow or shrink?

You could never know it from last year's American health care debate, but the answers we also largely determine whether health care costs can ever be controlled. Today a 70-year-old uses 10 times the medical care of a 40-year-old. In 20 years might the ratio be down to five times? And how many 75-, 80- and 95-year-olds will there be?

The real mystery, however, is why so little attention is paid to the social cataclysm that is heading our way. Medicine, housing, transportation and employment practices, among many others, will have to make fundamental adjustments. Left unattended, Social Security and Medicare will break the budget and quintuple today's deficit.

Yet most efforts to reform Social Security fail, including, most recently, the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform. Among the proposals, this commission could

not agree on was to raise the retirement age to 70. Although this would be only a small increase over the 67-year-old threshold that will go into effect in 2012, it would go a long way toward solving the looming fiscal shortfall. The difference would be raising the retirement age by five months a year beginning in 2000, instead of by two months a year.

Seldom are policymakers confronted with a problem as bad as this one that has a solution as simple and meritorious — and apparently unpopular. Though we Americans are living 14 years longer than we were when Social Security was launched, we have agreed to raise the full-benefits threshold by only two years, and the trend is toward earlier, not later, retirement.

Perhaps people are unhappy in their last jobs, or are unable to renew careers because employers shun the health insurance costs of older employees. Or it may be that we have thoroughly adapted to what was once a luxury and will fight any attempt to cut it back.

Whatever the reasons, the only fair and politically feasible way to adjust Social Security and Medicare will be slowly and well in advance. That leaves very little time before the baby boom retirement wave hits us. Nineteen ninety-five would be the right time to begin to get serious about facing demographic facts.

The writer, a senior fellow at the Council of Foreign Relations, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Progressives' Goals

Regarding "Liberalism Heads for the Fringe" (Opinion, Dec. 31) by George F. Will.

Mr. Will's view of the Progressive movement is astonishing. He imagines Progressives, from the turn of the century onward, striving "to concentrate political power in Washington, and Washington power in the presidency." Such a project never occurred to the majority of that vast and widespread movement.

On the contrary, its main goal was to restore to the people the political power that had gradually been usurped in the decades following the Industrial Revolution. Progressives of both parties were responsible for the adoption of initiative, referendum and recall in 12 states.

They battled and crushed corrupt political machines in cities all over the nation. They achieved for the people the secret ballot, direct primaries, the right to elect their U.S. senators themselves, and for women the right to vote. What was the point of all this effort if, as Mr. Will says, they really wanted "to correct the incompetence of the people?"

as breaking up monopolies that were squeezing out small businesses and threatening free enterprise, protecting the rights of the working man, outlawing child labor and conserving national resources, did necessarily give some new powers to the federal government. No doubt Mr. Will noticed and deplores this fact. Perhaps he feels that the federal agencies which ensure these rights and enforce these laws are among the "towering bureaucracies" he finds so expendable.

"Back to 1900," says Mr. Will, "is a servicable summation of the conservative goal." Even Ronald Reagan probably only dreamed of pushing America back to August 1929, so the new conservatives have quite a program. Well, thanks, Mr. Will, but no thanks.

MARCIE MEYER, Yens, Switzerland.

Mr. Will's generalizations seriously misrepresent American history. Early 20th century fascism was not confined to liberal or progressive programs for government, but permeated all movements, including those of big business (Taylorism, for

example). The Progressives saw rationalization as a weapon against the pervasive corruption and venality that enslaved local government to powerful moneyed interests at the turn of the century. Local institutions in America today do need more respect and broader participation, but they won't get it by going back to 1900.

DANIEL B. ABRAMSON, Beijing.

A State Duty to Protect

Regarding "He Has a Contract Out on America" (Opinion, Jan. 2) by Anthony Lewis.

Mr. Lewis, in a well-reasoned argument about the destructiveness of individualism, notes the tragedy of Georges Bank fishing and possible desertification of federal lands allocated for grazing. He also notes an item in New Gingrich's "Contract With America" that would "make it virtually impossible for any government body, state or federal, to protect the environment."

A century ago, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a fervent Republican, had this to say about the proper role of government: "Somewhere be-

tween the extremes of unlimited individualism on the one hand and personal monarchy or state socialism on the other can be found the golden mean, in which it is possible to use the united power of the community expressed in the state for the benefit of mankind and the protection of civilization."

To those who say Mr. Gingrich is living in the past, I say think again. In the 19th century, only the callow were so shallow. My great-grandfather would not be pleased with the turn this party has taken.

EMILY LODGE, Paris.

Safire as Scrooge

Regarding "The Marxist Notion of Class Shouldn't Rule in America" (Opinion, Dec. 23) by William Safire.

Leave Marx out of it, Mr. Safire's notion of class system in America could be from Ebenezer Scrooge. Why shouldn't parents deduct their children's higher education expenses? What better way for everyone to invest in America's future than to invest in the education of its sons and daughters. What about parents with two or three kids of

college age — how does Mr. Safire expect the free market to "ramp down" their expenses? With regard to working while in school, most jobs in university towns are low-paying. Usually a working student can make enough to cover only a portion of room and board, and not the high tuition that today's students must pay. If Mr. Safire is an example of the new Republicans' class ideals, then I'll take FDR or Bill Clinton any day.

THOMAS J. WALSH, Frankfurt.

A Nonuniversal Universe?

Regarding "Confusion Over Big Bang Theory" (Features, Nov. 3) by John Noble Wilford.

You have published some interesting articles about the discrepancy between old stars and a "young" universe. Is it conceivable that the Lord of Creation formed two or more conglomerations so far apart as to be virtually independent of each other? If a Big Bang took place in one part of the universe, could we now be witnessing an interaction?

LOUIS KUSHNER, Cologne.

BOOKS

MY GOLDEN TRADES

By Ivan Klima. Translation from Czech by Paul Wilson. 284 pages. \$22. Scribner's.

Reviewed by Carolyn See

THIS beautiful collection of short stories marks the touchy transition of an artist "under communism," who has made an elegant career of teasing his government, to another phase: being an artist in a great big world, where, even after the Velvet Revolution, life is still a drag. Because it's not just totalitarianism that has bored into the human spirit, it's other humans, and the general human tendency toward screwing up. Ivan Klima seems to be noticing that when one set of problems disappears, another set comes into view, and the nature of these problems is that they are almost by definition unsolvable.

The "golden trades" of the title refer to all the goofy jobs that Klima — forbidden to be a writer by the formerly repressive Czechoslovak government — found himself involved in. In an afterward, he notes that he did work at most of these jobs: He spent time as a courier and as a surveyor's assistant, he was part of a circle of book smugglers, he drove a train and

WHAT THEY'RE READING

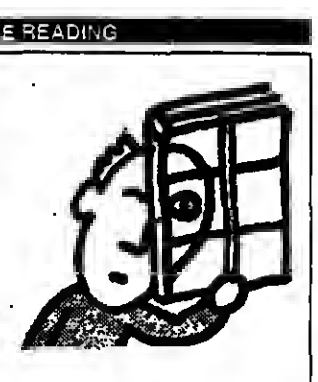
• Godfrey Deeny, Paris Bureau chief of W magazine, is reading "Mitterrand et les Quarante Voleurs" ("Mitterrand and the Forty Thieves") by Jean Montaldo.

"The book seems to be written by someone who is sort of a scandal monger. But nevertheless, it's an eye-opener about some of the things that have gone on in Mitterrand's Elysée Palace." (Ilse Gersten, IHT)

poked about in archaeological digs. (All the people who were suited to drive trains and work in archaeology were probably forced to work at the local newspaper or in a bookstore.)

These stories are about wasted time, nothing getting done, connections not made, opportunities missed. When the system is set up like that, your only defense is to know it, to be intelligent, but that's your torture too, since presumably the ignorant don't know the difference.

The narrator here bangs out. His life is colored by apprehension and "anxiety." He worries that the cops are following him, and sometimes they are. He stands helplessly by as people



and two flags twisted around poles leaning against a brightly colored wash basin. The air had an acid smell to it, like the air in a pub urinal.

The narrator's boss is a surveyor, of course. He's just a kid, a dyed-in-the-wool product of socialism, and he's the only one in this collection of stories who really likes his job. His task is to measure all that he sees and all that he can't see. Someone buried a lot of stone markers around here a long time ago, and the surveyor's task is to find those markers, dig them up, be sure they're in the right place and then bury them again. The narrator tags along for the ride, for the pension, and because he finds, surprisingly, that since he's not allowed to write, the next best thing is to be outdoors, digging, getting close to Czech earth. Because surely no one can corrupt that.

Except that the earth is hideously scorched by chemicals, and weird farming practices have blown away the topsoil in previously verdant fields.

The young surveyor doesn't get it. He's dedicated to his vision and blind to life. He keeps on measuring, imposing meaningless order on irreparable chaos. And he ensures destruction wherever he goes.

The difference between the surveyor and his alienated, lonely, intelligent assistant goes far beyond totalitarianism, and even beyond big government and the lone individual. There are always people out there who throw out the good stuff while keeping the bad. The artist, who has the sense to notice, gets stuck with writing it down.

Carolyn See reviews books regularly for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

A tricky defense involving the spade suit occurred in the diagrammed deal. South became the declarer in three spades, after opening in third seat and a take-out double by West. It would seem that three spades is sure to succeed, since the bidding has suggested that West has the bear queen. South, it seems, will lose a trump trick, a diamond and two clubs.

returned to the ace. South took his club ruff and should have led a trump. But he could see no harm in ruffing a diamond, expecting to fail by a trick by losing two trump tricks to East. He did lose two trump tricks, but not the way he expected: West overruffed with the spade king and played a fourth round of clubs, promoting his partner's spade jack as the setting trick.

North (D)

♠ Q 7 2	♥ A 10 4	♦ J 8 7	♣ A 4 3
---------	----------	---------	---------

West

♠ K 8	♥ 10	♦ Q 7 6 3	♣ 9
♠ K 9	♥ Q 10 5 4 3 2	♦ A K J 7 6	♣ Q 10 8

South

♠ A 9 5 4	♥ K 8 5	♦ A 8	♣ 9 5 2
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East and West were vulnerable.

The bidding:	North	East	South	West
Pass	Pass	1♣	Pass	Pass
3♣	Pass	Pass	Pass	Pass

West led the club ace.

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**Herald Tribune**



## Japan's Museum Heaven

### Quaint Kurashiki Is a Cache of Western Art

By Carol Lutfy

**K**URASHIKI, Japan — Visiting Kurashiki is a little like watching a samurai movie starring John Wayne: Visitors would be wise to suspend disbelief — and in some cases, to relax their standards — if they are to embrace the city's unexpected charms.

At first glance Kurashiki calls to mind traditional Japan. Its historic district looks like a 17th-century stage set, with feathery willow trees hugging a narrow canal and whitewashed, black-tiled buildings dotting cobblestone side streets, without an electrical wire in sight anywhere. But Kurashiki, a city of 400,000 in Okayama Prefecture, roughly 350 miles (560 kilometers) west of Tokyo, is about as far from the real Japan as a trip to Tokyo Disneyland. Though the old merchant quarter has been skillfully restored to recall the town's heyday 300 years ago as a flourishing business center, today it is merely a shell for a distinctly different identity.

"Annunciation," and Matisse's "Cliffs Downstream on the Etoré" were some of the masterpieces exhibited then that are still on display.

Between the main building and annex is a picturesque tea garden with a stream trickling through it. The annex contains works by modern Western masters, including Alexander Calder, Henry Moore and Isamu Noguchi, and an impressive range of contemporary Japanese artists.

Down the canal from the Ohara is the Ninagawa Museum, founded by a wealthy Kyoto family in 1972, with its two stories of Greek and Roman marble busts and Middle Eastern and West Asian antiquities. Neither the quality nor quantity of the works warrants the \$8 admission fee, but a visit is worthwhile for those who want a full picture of Kurashiki's cultural empire.

Around the corner from the Ninagawa is the Folkcraft Museum, perhaps one of the finest museums of its scale in Japan. Opened to the public in 1949, the museum explores Japan's Mingei, or Folkcraft, Movement, which celebrated the achievements of the "anonymous craftsman" and which many compare to the Arts and Crafts Movement in England.

The museum was founded in 1948 by Kichinosuke Tomomura, a patron of the Folkcraft Movement who was friendly with many of its leaders. This local history sheds a personal light on the 4,000 objects displayed in two adjoining storehouses. In addition to pottery, straw jackets, brooms, textiles and glass vessels from Japan, there are brass objects, baskets and wooden chests from all over the world.

A few doors down from the Folkcraft Museum is the Japanese Rural Toy Museum, which is run by Hiroyuki Oga and his family as a business. Oga's father opened the museum in 1968 to display his collection of Japanese toys. He later branched out into foreign toys, which are on the second floor. From Japan are colorful plaster dolls, stylized wooden dolls, prince and princess dolls and dozens of bright-red legless dolls that are caricatures of the Indian monk who founded Zen.

The Archaeology Museum across the canal is housed in a group of remodeled granaries from the late Edo Period said to be among the oldest buildings in the town. The museum, opened in 1950, celebrates Kurashiki's first life as a cultural center 1,500 to 2,000 years ago when the Kibi Plain was a flourishing agricultural area. Elaborate tombs from that period contained fascinating relics from daily life: stone utensils, pottery and agricultural tools are among the 1,400 objects on display. Unfortunately, the museum's buildings are too dark and its rooms are too small.

One of the best things about Kurashiki is its architecture. The town's oft-praised storehouses, date from the mid-1600s, their sturdy simplicity said to capture the character of the frugal, solid merchants who built them. Facades are characterized by white walls with grilled doors and windows, and rows of black clay tiles set into a 30-centimeter-thick plaster-covered mud surface. From a structural and design standpoint, they have unarguably withstood the test of time.

Carol Lutfy, an American journalist, wrote this for The New York Times.

At first glance, the city calls to mind a very traditional Japan.

Behind its traditional veneer, Kurashiki is culturally one of the most Western-influenced provincial cities in Japan. As the site of the nation's first Western art museum, founded in 1930, it is best known for its pioneering appreciation of European art.

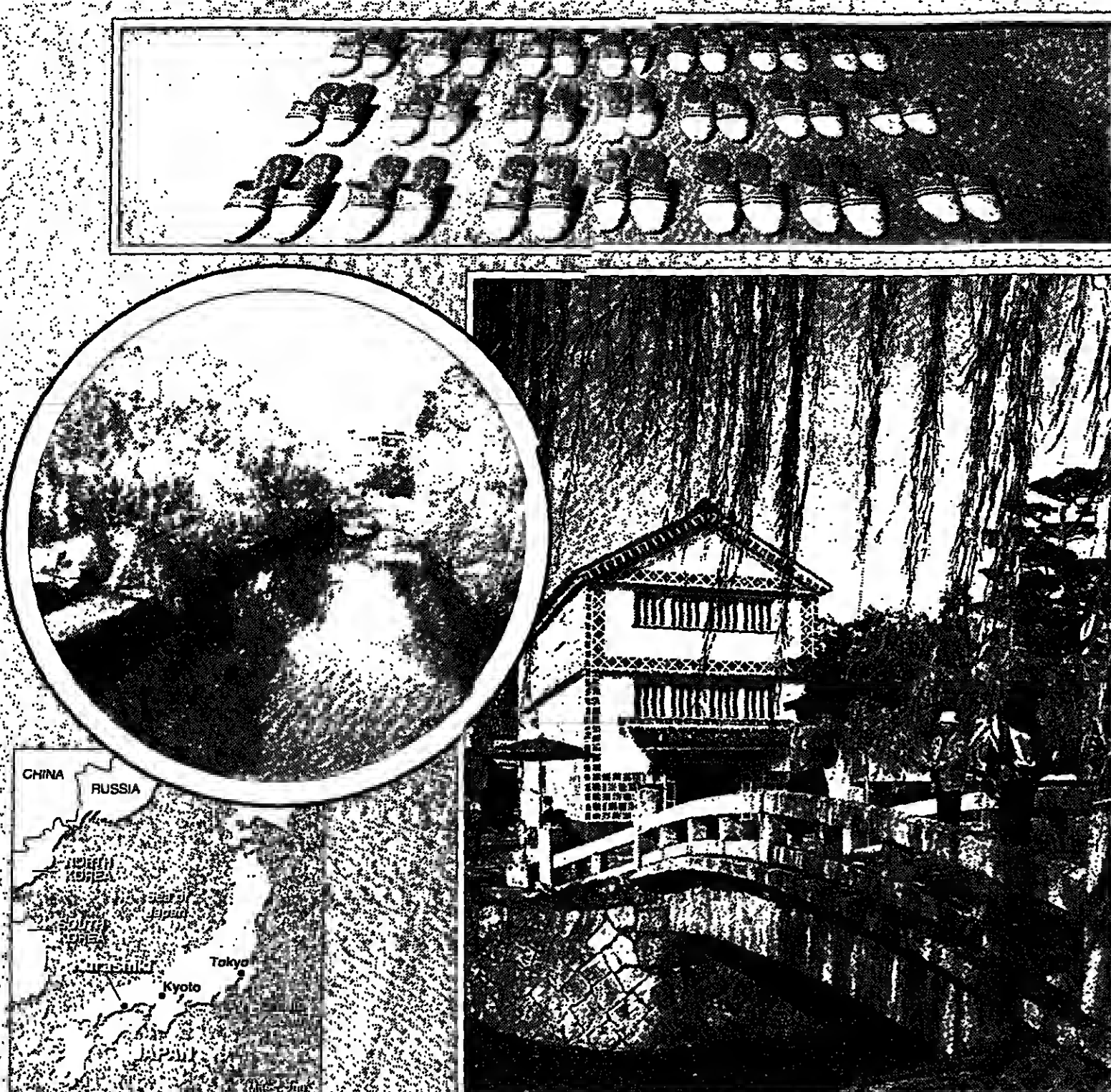
The city is the birthplace of the brilliant textile industrialist Magosaburo Ohara, whose lifelong patronage made it one of the first museum capitals in the country. Facing the canal alone are five museums: the Ohara Museum of Art, the Ninagawa Museum of Antiquities, the Folkcraft Museum, the Japanese Rural Toy Museum and the Archaeology Museum. Kurashiki has 14 museums in total, many of them privately owned.

All this art and culture can feel a bit dated, even incongruous, in a city as remote as Kurashiki. The museum offerings are noticeably uneven in quality and sometimes represent an awkward juxtaposition of East and West, old and new.

Before Kurashiki became famous for its museums, it had a more strategic incarnation as a major collection and distribution center for rice in the Edo Period (1615-1868). The town fell under the supervision of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which meant that its merchants, free from the normally complex and costly distribution system, got rich. They built handsome black-and-white checkerboard storehouses, and found that with a few minor adjustments the houses made impressive residences, too. The design of these warehouses, or *kura*, is distinctive to Kurashiki.

The physical and symbolic center of the city's historic district, the Ohara Museum embodies what is both endearing and irritating about Kurashiki. Based on a Greek temple, the architecture is too ostentatious and overpowering for the canal it sits on, and many of its paintings are of dubious quality. But the story behind the museum reveals an interesting context that more than compensates for its shortcomings.

The Ohara Museum houses an eclectic collection of paintings, crafts and antiquities amassed by Ohara and his son, Soichiro, from 1920 to 1968. It was, however, Torajiro Kojima, a modestly successful painter, who chose the artworks for them. Ohara gave the collection a permanent home in 1930, founding the Ohara Museum in Kojima's honor after the artist died unexpectedly at the age of 47. A Monet "Water Lilies"; Marquet's "Harbor of Marseilles"; El Greco's



A Japanese backdrop for Western art: Slippers for guests at one of Kurashiki's inns; archaeology museum in remodeled granaries; canal.

## THE MOVIE GUIDE

### Death and the Maiden

Directed by Roman Polanski.

Roman Polanski knows that a stylish thriller is often the best route to weightier matters. Without its glossy commercial surface, "Rosemary's Baby" would never have made Devil worship so viscerally chilling. His own film, "Death and the Maiden," is a similar triumph for Polanski. His brilliance with the camera turns Ariel Dorfman's well-meaning but pretentious play about human rights into a harrowing experience. The film is a three-character story set in an unspecified South American country (standing in for Dorfman's native Chile) after the fall of a dictator. Sigourney Weaver plays Paula Escobar, a woman who was kidnapped and tortured during the dictatorship. Stuart Wilson plays her husband, Gerardo, a lawyer who has just been named to head a human-rights commission, a panel that will investigate murder but not cases of unlikely survival like Paula's. Ben Kingsley is



A scene from Polanski's "Death and the Maiden."

Roberto Miranda, a doctor who gives Gerardo a lift home when his car breaks down, and who Paula insists is her torturer. The look and atmosphere of the film are stunningly effective. Polanski has created a backdrop for a horror movie, which turns out to be just right for the horrors the film explores. (Caryn James, NYT)

### Lamerica

Directed by Gianni Amelio.

Winner of the Felix award (or best movie from the European Film Academy and Italy's candidate for best foreign film at this year's Academy Awards), "Lamerica" is a hard-hitting, claustrophobic document about corruption, illusion and despair. Michele Placido and Enrico Lo Verso play two cynical, unscrupulous Italian businessmen who hope to exploit the recent opening of Albania to foreign commercial ventures. As they have previously done in Somalia, the two Italians scheme to steal Italian state funds by opening a dummy corporation in Albania. But their plans go awry; the government funding is denied. And Lo Verso, suddenly trapped in an unfamiliar, hostile land, undertakes an odyssey across Albania during which he is progressively stripped of his possessions, his freedom and, ultimately, his identity. Inspired by the waves of desperate Albanians who landed in the southern Italian city of Bari in 1990 with unfounded hopes of asylum, Gianni Amelio's film paints a jolting, contorted, but realistic portrait of today's Albania. It is a film steeped in misery, a universe of ineluctable suffering that swallows those who are unwise enough to enter. Shot in an oppressive, highly effective Cinemascope, "Lamerica" shows us a land of entrenched poverty whose unfortunate inhabitants watch Italian television and dream of their "America," the glided, promised land of soccer stars and fashion houses that lies waiting for them just across the Adriatic Sea. (Ken Schulman, IHT)

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# LEISURE

## Cruising Along Through the Channel Tunnel: Mind the Fish

By Kyle Jarrard  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — You're sure it won't be an ordinary three-hour run through the Channel Tunnel to London when at 8:29 Robin Hicks, chief driver of Eurostar 9011, shuts the blind on the front window and vaults. "We could carry on all day like this!" The British crew laughs, but a second later the blind's up again and we're back to the serious business of flying along at 300 kilometers per hour (186 miles per hour) through heavy fog 25 minutes north of Paris. You have no idea yet that there'll be fish to look for in the tunnel.

The drivers' compartment is cramped but warm on a cold morning. In the hot seat is Peter Roberts, making his 15th crossing. Behind him stands Hicks, a veteran on his 43d. For Lawrence Howard, a newcomer, it's number 2. There's also Jamie Leicester, traction inspector, and a French technician who comes and goes. And 35 computers throughout the train, which is carrying 550 passengers.

8:37: Quiet confidence reigns. Is there any fog so thick they'd have to stop? No, say. Ever hit anything? A deer maybe. Breaks a headlight. How long would it take to stop the train in an emergency at

300 kph? One minute. You think of the tunnel and ask if anyone's scared of catastrophe. "You can't be," says Hicks, 33. "Otherwise you would never be confident in yourself, never be good at the job."

Hicks has been working on the railroads 15 years — and made his first tunnel crossing last March. "It's just amazing to go through 50 kilometers of tunnel in 18 minutes and come out in England." The rest of the crew nods reverently. But then he adds: "After two or three times, it becomes an everyday occurrence."

8:53: How far under the seabed will we be? "Six inches!" someone shouts. "In some places, two inches!" Leicester corrects. "You'll see the water," Hicks relates, "and a few fish swimming around."

9:11: Three minutes ahead of schedule.

9:18: We've sailed through Lille at 190 kph and are heading to Frethun, near the French coast, with Howard now driving.

Roberts prepares to head to the back of the train where there is an identical engine for reversing out of the tunnel in an emergency. "Are you the driver?" he recalls a passenger asking one time as he went through the train. "Yes, I am." "Well, then, who's driving the train?" "No one."

So are drivers of such trains just high-tech monitors? "No, you're a cut above the rest," Roberts says. Hicks agrees:

"These trains have given us a lot more esteem in the public eye."

Leicester puts it best, saying that with the demise of the steam engine and advent of the electric engine, "one of my good friends, departed friends now, said we became not the driver but the face at the window." He adds: "Now, with Eurostar, the face at the window is something very different. I'm sure if he were alive today he would have agreed that the face at the window had become somebody again."

9:33: "Here we go," Leicester says. You see two black holes ahead and then we're in the 51-kilometer tunnel. It's dark gray and the train's lights pick up a fog. The walls curve slowly, sinister and bowl-like; rails are flush with the floor. Signs give the grade of the slope, going down. Along a wall are pipes for hot and cold water to balance the temperature in the tunnel, which is 27 centigrade (80 Fahrenheit), because of friction of train and air.

9:40: Ten kilometers in, 155 kph (max is 160 kph). We pass the French "crossover," a pair of steel doors otherwise shut for aerodynamic reasons. The French technician comes in to say in uneasy English that part of the motor is out but that it will take only a couple of minutes to fix it via the computer. We haven't slowed.

9:42: Halfway through. Leaving

France, entering Britain. Still on a downward slope. We're between 30 and 50 meters under the seabed in a 7.6-meter-wide tube. You took up.

9:46: Through the British "crossover," starting to go uphill. 10 kilometers to go. The cab has grown warmer. You see dark spots on the tunnel floor. What's that? "Seawater," says Leicester. But no fish.

9:51: White square of light ahead. What were Hicks' thoughts coming out of the tunnel the first time? "That we'd got

through the tunnel without any problems and made the crossing." But he is smiling proudly as we emerge at Folkestone.

9:01: British time. We've left the high-speed line and switched to electricity from a third rail. It's bright morning in Kent, blanketed with thick frost. Unfortunately, so is the third rail, and we slow to 80 mph (au revoir, kph) as the train-to-rail connection short-circuits. "Back to reality," says Howard, the high-speed drama over.

9:03: 55 mph. Short-circuiting continues. Unsavory words are uttered. Sheep in the fields look at the slowing yellow train.

9:05: Dead stop. Chief Driver Hicks takes over. Phones ahead to Ashford to find there's trouble with a railroad switch; a technician there will have to reset it manually. Roberts has returned from the rear. Wincing at our crawl, he likens the British rail system to a "hyperwalk into the past." The high-speed rail line isn't due to be completed until 2002, so for now the maximum speed across Kent to London is 100 mph. But he jokes, "Time isn't really that important, is it?" When the line is done, Paris-London will take 2.5 hours.

9:16: Still idle. Hicks grows testy: "Taking their time, aren't they!" To break the ice, so to speak, Roberts gets out a pair of thick, mad-scientist glasses and acts the part. The cab resounds with laughter.

9:24: Slowly moving. The 8:23 Eurostar out of London goes by. Horns sound.

9:54: Entering Seven Oaks Tunnel, circa 1850. Leicester says it's supposed to be haunted. "People who live near the tunnel have complained about whistles at night and when they looked into it there were no trains on the line at all. And yet people complained about it. Want to get off?"

9:56: Out of Haunted Tunnel. 60 mph.

10:02: Slow at yellow light. Train ahead on our side. Roberts says, "Who would have thought 40 years ago that you would have come up here with a £24 million train and gotten stopped at every signal?" The other train shifts to a "loop." We proceed.

10:23: Row houses and gray-brick buildings, then the defunct Battersea power station, chimneys like table legs.

10:27: Stopped. The 10:23 Eurostar to Brussels snaking out of Waterloo station has priority. "French bloke" driving it, Hicks sees, and waves. "A bit more strait-laced," Hicks describes them.

10:32: Parliament and Big Ben on the left. Ahead, St. Paul's. "We have the best view of all," Howard says. We pull into the glass-covered station.

10:36: All stop. One driver says we're 17 minutes late. I get 20-something. It doesn't matter. Applause breaks out anyway. The Eurostar is in.

### FEAR THIS

■ An exhibition of Claude Monet's paintings of his gardens in Giverny, France, opens in New Orleans on Saturday. And Fat City, living up to its reputation as a culinary capital, is offering edibles based on the artist's journals. These range from an eight-course menu at the Grill Room of the Windsor Court Hotel to a "Dinner at Monet's Table" at the Upperline Restaurant. If you still have time to digest the art, the show is on through March 12.

## Parisians Warm Up To Panini

By Pat McColl

PARIS — Ask anyone who sells them why panini are so hot and the answer bounces back: "It's the fashion."

Suddenly, just about every well-traveled street from Avenue Marceau to the Left Bank to the restaurant complex of the Carrousel du Louvre to the Marais has one of these outlets selling panini: Italian-inspired hot toasted sandwiches, most of a flour-dusted long roll of white bread.

Fillings range from an assortment of Italian cheeses and hams for evocatively named panini: Ponte Vecchio, Cortina or Napoli. Tomatoes, olives, basil, balsamic vinegar and Italian olive oil are the usual extra accents.

"In Italy, panini have been around forever," said a spokesman at the Italian Embassy. "It's only recently they have become such a fashion, mainly as a replacement for hamburgers and especially with teenagers."

Most of the Paris panini shops have a counter opening directly on the street. Wicker baskets piled high with the sandwiches backed with a grill where the panini are toasted on the spot cater to the take-out trade.

At the tiny Café Cappuccino on Rue du Colisée, while there are six high stools ringing the counter, it's mainly a take-out business with, on an average day between noon and 2 P.M., anywhere from 200 to 250 panini flying out of the shop. Prices range from the 20 franc (\$3.70) Sicilia (tomatoes, mozzarella cheese, olive oil and basil) to the 30 franc Parma, which adds Parma ham and walnuts to the Sicilia mix.

Emphasizing the Italian ambience are colorful posters for Italian soups, pastas, aperitifs and Italian wines by the glass.

Perhaps the biggest and most luxurious



O'Café in Paris: a takeout window piled with panini.

of this type of restaurant is Casa Bini's Lo Spuntino, which opened in May on Rue des Saints-Pères on the Left Bank.

Specialties here are panini that can go up to 48 francs for a smoked salmon variation plus two other kinds of hot sandwiches: focaccia and donzelle. The breads and all other ingredients are imported from Italy twice a week.

"With this kind of restaurant, you don't have the problem of a chef," laughed Lydie Laurent, a partner in Casa Bini. "Fast food doesn't need a genius in the kitchen."

The décor here was inspired by Tuscan trattorias, from the red tiled floor to the green and white splatterware china to the olive trees outside the entrance.

Takeout business accounts for less than 10 percent of Lo Spuntino's business, with the 60 seats turning over almost three times a day. The restaurant, like its Right Bank counterpart on Rue de la Banque, still hasn't managed to attract the dinner crowd, although Swiss and Canadian customers have already asked if they can franchise the idea.

O'Café on Rue Marbeuf, which opened last April, and Panino on Avenue Marceau add to their panini options with an

extensive choice of salads. Bread for O'Café's panini is made by a suburban baker to an Italian recipe while Panino has its own recipe: a brioche dough made without sugar.

O'Café's salad bar offers 14 different salads each day, with coleslaw the current best seller. At Panino, the owner, Hugo Natif, says his six salads are favorites with models from the nearby couture houses. All are sold without dressing.

"Obviously, the customer can have a choice of any of our Italian dressings but the models all want them without," he said.

On the other side of town at La Bonne Pâtisserie on Rue Rambuteau, when the owners added panini to a fast food menu they added the "try me" incentive of a free one after the first 10 bought.

And when Martine and Gerald Danel were looking for a way to distinguish their port-side restaurant, Hoafleur from its Norman neighbors, the answer was obvious: panini, an instant hit with the summer crowd.

Pat McColl is a free-lance writer based in Paris.

## European Lifestyles in the Skies

By Roger Collis  
International Herald Tribune

CONSUMER research has many functions, such as finding the need for more research, to prove pretty well anything you want, or simply to rediscover the obvious. What I look for these days is an entertaining read with a few predictable insights.

Such is the OAG Business Lifestyle Survey 1994, published by Reed Travel Group, which looks at attitudes and behavior among 1,270 frequent travelers residing in Britain, France and Germany. Respondents were mainly men (90 percent); 62 percent age 45 or over; 10 percent under 35, and 50 percent at director level or above. They made an average of 19 business trips in the last year (down from 25 in the 1993 survey). Predictably, European destinations are the most popular, followed by North America, visited by more than half the sample.

Travelers claim to work even harder on the road than in the office; more than 40 percent putting work and career before home and family; with only 8 percent saying they enjoy time off for leisure activities when they're on the road.

Senior executives travel more and want more control over their travel plans — often ignoring corporate travel policy for a more convenient flight (although 70 percent say their company has neither a travel policy nor a corporate deal with an airline). More than half of all respondents always choose their own airline; just under half choose their own hotel. They also like to do their own research, local contacts being increasingly used to book air travel and hotels.

Airlines are counting on recapturing "high-yield" business passengers who have been downgrading to the back of the plane during the recession by offering bigger seats and more frills, both in the air and on the ground, rather than cheaper fares.

But business travelers are sending mixed signals: When choosing an airline, factors such as a modern fleet of planes, comfort and legroom — especially on long-haul flights — frequent-flier pro-

grams and competitive fares have become more important than access to airport lounges, advance seat selection, priority check-in or being wined and dined in the air. On short-haul flights, convenient schedules and punctuality take precedence over comfort; 16 percent of short-haul travelers have moved down from business class to economy, compared with only 9 percent on long-haul flights.

Frequent-flier programs are the big turn-on — 86 percent of respondents belong to at least one FFP (up 4 percent

### The Frequent Traveler

from the last survey) and 5 percent are members of eight or more programs. The average is three.

Three-quarters of respondents say they would choose an airline simply to earn miles, 16 percent acknowledging that mileage counting counts more to them than following corporate policy. Only 9 percent agree that frequent-flier benefits belong to the company. Although 97 percent say they intend to redeem their bonus miles, only half of them have done so, which suggests that they are saving them up for the big payoff — a potential nightmare on the balance sheets for airlines.

Favorite in-flight activities are watching the seat-back video, computer shopping and keeping in touch by phone and fax, although business fliers say they are not in the least interested in computer games and video gambling. That is a fact that may have escaped Virgin Atlantic, which is fitting its 747s with roulette, poker and ome-armed bandits.

Japan Airlines, on the other hand, seems to believe that the in-flight entertainment revolution has gone far enough by offering passengers special "silence" headphones, which are said to cancel out 70 percent of aircraft engine and ventilation noise.

You are most likely to find top honchos relaxing in business class with or without the video; while Young Turks still clamoring up the corporate pyramid are to be found working with reports or laptops in economy; especially women who are less

distracted by first-run movies. But only a quarter of corporate travelers "always or usually" take a laptop with them on trips, and only 60 percent use them during the flight. The most intense in-flight workaholics tend to be young, male, very frequent fliers — and British.

Time out on trips is mainly spent watching television or reading in the hotel room (nearly half of all business travelers and three-quarters of women in the sample). Hardly anyone visits museums, although 27 percent say they will watch a film, concert or play. Only 16 percent acknowledge nightclubbing.

National characteristics reflect cultural stereotypes.

British travelers are the most independent and adamant about choosing the airline they fly, tend to change flight plans before departure, use the video during the flight, more likely to visit North America than other Europeans and are keenest to jog and hit the night spots when away.

THE French demand good food and drink during the flight and are less sniffling than others about computer games. But they are also the most focused on work and career, according to the survey. French travelers look for airlines with extra legroom and in-flight phones, but are more likely than others to miss their flight. They are also more eager to earn bonus miles, but they have been cutting back more on the number of business trips.

German travelers are sticklers for airline punctuality and fearful about getting to the airport in time. They tend to use company travel departments to book flights and hotels and regard frequent-flier miles as company rather than personal perks. During the flight they are the most eager to get out their computers and the least likely to watch the movie.

In an ideal world, the survey concludes, nearly three-quarters of all frequent travelers, whatever their nationality, would like to abandon their careers and stay at home with their families. Less than 20 percent would make work and career their top priority.

## THE ARTS GUIDE

**BELGIUM**  
Brussels  
Musée d'Art Ancien, tel: (2) 508-32-11, closed Mondays. Continuing to Feb. 12: "De Vos de Velde," 17th- and 18th-century French paintings. Includes paintings by Vouet, Champaigne and Van der Meulen.

**BRITAIN**  
Edinburgh  
National Gallery of Scotland, tel: (31) 332-2266, open daily. To Jan. 31: "Turner Watercolours." The traditional annual display of Turner's watercolours, most of them bequeathed by Henry Vaughan, who stipulated that they should only be shown in January when daylight is least likely to damage the works.

London  
British Museum, tel: (71) 323-8525, open daily. Recently opened permanent gallery dedicated to the art and culture of ancient Mexico. Features exhibits from more than 3,000 years of pre-Hispanic history, including the Olmec, Mayan, and Aztec periods.

National Portrait Gallery, tel: (71) 306-0055, open daily. To Feb. 12: "Christina Rossetti, 1830-1894." Includes portraits of the British poet by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, her brother, as well as other Pre-Raphaelite portraits. Her poetry is displayed in original manuscripts and illustrated editions.

The Royal Opera at Covent Garden, tel: (71) 240-1088. Verdi's "Otello." Directed by Elijah Moshinsky, conducted by Carlo Rizzi, with Elena Prokina, Dennis O'Neill, Vladimir Bogachov and Sergei Lefterkus. Jan. 13, 17, 20, 24 and 26.

**CZECH REPUBLIC**  
Prague  
Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia, tel: (2) 24-81-0228, closed Mondays. To Jan. 29: "Felicien Rops." A collection of 80 works by the 19th-century Belgian artist, who settled in Paris in the mid-1870s and maintained close contacts with French Symbolists and Decadents.

**DENMARK**  
Humboldt  
Louisiana Museum for Modern Art, tel: 42-19-07-19, open daily. Continuing to Feb. 5: "Toulouse-Lautrec and Paris."

**FRANCE**  
Bordeaux  
Grand-Théâtre, tel: 56-48-58-54. "La Nozze di Figaro," conducted by Uwe Mund, directed by Robert Caron, with Vincent Le Texier, Marianne Fink and Linda Kitcher. Jan. 20, 24 and 27.

Paris  
Centre Georges Pompidou, tel: (1) 44-78-40-86, closed Tuesdays. Continuing to Feb. 20: "Kurt Schwitters." 300 paintings, collages, sculptures, typographical works and poems created between 1910 and 1947 by the German-born artist.

Institut du Monde Arabe, tel: 40-51-3238, closed Mondays. To March 26: "Couleurs de Tunisie: 25 Sables de Ceramique." Phoenician, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic ceramics from Tunisia.

Musée-Galerie de la Sella, tel: (1) 45-56-50-18, closed Sundays. To Feb. 25: "Pascin, 1885-1930." More

than 10 paintings and drawings by one of the leaders of the Ecole de Montparnasse in the 1920s.

**GERMANY**  
Cologne  
Museum Ludwig, tel: (221) 221-9923, closed Mondays. To Feb. 5: "Chargé d'Affaires: Chios, Form, U-form." A collection of Chargé d'Affaires' graphic art, which uses both traditional and experimental photographic techniques. The artist considers chaos to be a fundamental element of form and has found inspiration in images such as bombed out World War II buildings.

Düsseldorf  
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof, tel: (211) 89-9-2460, closed Mondays. To March 18: "Die Sammlung Kohnweiler: Von Gips, Bronze, Leder und Holz bis Papp." Works by 100 masters from the collection of Parisian art-dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, best known for his close association with Picasso, Braque and Derain, among others.

Frankfurt  
Schirn Kunsthalle, tel: (69) 299-882-11, closed Mondays. To Feb. 12: "Aeger Jörn: Retrospektive." Paintings, drawings and collages by the Danish painter. A founder of the Cobra group and a supporter of primitive and unsophisticated art, Jörn later evolved towards abstraction.

**GREECE**  
Athens  
Megaron, tel: (1) 72-82-333. "La Traviata." Directed by Vassilis Nihalidis, conducted by Gian Paolo Sanzogno, with Sonia Theodoridou, Dimitra Theodoridou, Mario Melagris, Gran Wilson and Alexandros Agache. Louis Marikas. Jan. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 and 19.

**ITALY**  
Ferrara  
Teatro Comunale, tel: (532) 20-26-75. "Barbiera di Siviglia." Conducted by Claudio Abbado and directed by Stefano Vizoli, with Roberto Fortini, Cecilia Gasdia, Sonia Ganassi, Rainor Trost, Enzo Dara and Ruggero Raimondi. Iobrandino D'Arzengolo. Jan. 10, 12 and 14.

Rivoli  
Castello di Rivoli, tel: (11) 959-7256, closed Mondays. To April 23: "L'Orizzonte: Da Chagall a Picasso."

da Pollock a Cragg." More than 100 20th-century paintings on loan from the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. Features works by De Kooning, Malevich and Appel.

Rome  
Camera dei Deputati, tel: (6) 67-601, open Saturdays and Sundays. To Feb. 15: "Mestieri di Uomini: XVI al XX Secolo." An opportunity to see the interior of Bernini's Palazzo di Montecitorio (now home of Italy's Parliament), and more than 100 paintings and sculptures selected from the chamber's extensive art collection.

Teatro dell'Opera, tel: (06) 481-601. Berlioz's "Berenice Cellini." Directed by Luigi Preti, conducted by John Nelson, with Greta Winberg, Deborah Friedel, Diane Montague. Jan. 14, 18, 22, 25, 28 and 31.

Venice  
Palazzo Ducale, tel: (41) 522-4047, open daily. To Feb. 25: "Homage to St. Mark." Focuses on the theme of St. Mark, patron saint of Venice, his symbolism and the diffusion of his gospel. Includes early codices, manuscripts and other objects brought from European museums and churches.

**JAPAN**  
Nagasaki  
Palace Huis Ten Bosch Museum, tel: (956) 27-0248, open daily. To Feb. 15: "Masters of Ukiyoe: 17th to 19th-Century Paintings from the Collection of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht." Paintings by masters of the Ukiyoe school of painting, with biblical or mythological themes. Modern Dutch paintings are also shown.

Tokyo  
Watanabe-Um, tel: (3) 3402-3001, open daily. To March 12: "Fluxus." 175 objects and drawings trace the development of the avant-garde movement in the 1960s.

**LUXEMBOURG**  
As "European City of Culture 1995," Luxembourg will feature several main exhibitions: Post-Impressionist works (January to March), masterpieces from the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein (July/August), paintings from the school of London (September/October), and German Expressionists (September/October). The Theatre Municipal will host ballet performances by Portuguese, Romanian and Taiwanese companies. There will be recitals by André

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On Jan. 8: "The Romantic Spirit in German Art 1790-1900." Hayward Gallery, London.

On Jan. 8: "Macedonia: The North-Greeks and the Era of Alexander the Great." Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen.

On Jan. 9: "Gustave Caillebotte, 1848-1894." Grand Palais, Paris.

On Jan. 8: "El Dorado: Das Gold der Fürstengräber." Altes Museum, Berlin.

On Jan. 8: "Origins of Impressionism." Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

On Jan. 10: "Cy Twombly: A Retrospective." Museum of Modern Art, New York.

On Jan. 8: "James McNeill Whistler." Tate Gallery, London.

On Jan. 8: "Ingres, Courbet, Monet, Rodin, Gauguin: Les Oubliés du Caire." Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

On Jan. 8: "Goya." Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

On Jan. 8: "Yves Klein: Der Sprung ins Leere." Museum Ludwig, Cologne and Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf.

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## Cautioned by Pope, Jesuits Congregate To Review Mission

By Barry James  
International Herald Tribune

The Jesuits — once known as the Pope's shock troops and then, more recently, as rebels — opened their first general meeting in more than 11 years in Rome on Thursday, seeking to bring up to date the constitution handed to them by their founder-saint, Ignatius de Loyola, in the 16th century.

Reflecting the Vatican's lingering distrust of the Jesuits, who are noted for their intellect as well as their often unorthodox approach, Pope John Paul II praised them for their social work but reminded them not to stray from traditional church teaching.

"The Jesuits must be strongly committed to social work and serving the most needy," the Pope said. "But this should never be separated from a global service to the church's mission to spread the Gospel."

The Company of Jesus has had only 33 previous such meetings, or congregations, in its 455-year history. About 200 representatives of the world's 23,000 Jesuits will meet in Rome until March 25, seeking to define the mission of the elite order.

An atmosphere of near-revolt of the early 1980s, when many Jesuits embraced leftist liberation theology and the Pope imposed a "personal delegate" to restore order, has died down. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, the Jesuit general who was elected in 1983, said recently that relations with the Vatican were harmonious, although they could be better.

The Pope seemed to imply that the Jesuits had been brought into line when he said that he was happy that they were now "without a doubt with the church, in the church and for the church."

Still, the order is going through an identity crisis. In the Vatican, it has lost influence to the ultraconservative and wealthy Opus Dei. The Jesuits

have declined in North America and Western Europe, but have grown in Asia, particularly in India and Indonesia, Africa and Latin America. About 60 percent of the order now works in the developing world, and Father Kolvenbach has often reconfirmed the order's commitment to the poor.

The growing presence in the developing world has confronted the Jesuits with many of the problems faced by their pioneers, such as Francis Xavier, who planted Christianity in Japan; Robert de Nobili, who converted many of the Indian Brahmins by adopting the best of their philosophy; and Matteo Ricci, who preached among the Chinese Mandarins.

In seeking to carry their faith to countries remote from the Latin and Western traditions, the Jesuits are again seeking to develop a "frontier apostolate" and open up new lines of communication with non-Catholics, non-Christians and nonbelievers.

Resuming a historical vocation in Russia, which accepted the order when it was banned in the West, some Jesuits have gone to work in Siberia. Around the world, the Jesuits combine traditional roles such as teaching in schools and universities with a quest for social justice, such as working in refugee camps and soup kitchens.

During their congregation, the Jesuits will discuss how their constitution and strategy should be adapted to meet the Pope's call for a "new evangelization" into the next millennium.

Some Jesuits privately disagree with the Pope over his doctrinal conservatism, and there is some concern that they are being asked to dismantle reforms introduced by the second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Father Kolvenbach has acknowledged that such fears are widespread, but said the updating of the Jesuit constitution did not imply a return to the pre-conciliar church.



Olympia Snowe being sworn into the Senate by Vice President Gore, right, as her husband, Governor John McKernan of Maine, watched. He left office Thursday, but for 24 hours people spoke about the "most powerful American couple."

## DOLE: Majority Leader Opens Attack in Senate on Clinton Foreign Policy

Continued from Page 1

equipping the Bosnian Muslims who would have to defend themselves.

Another consequence, he said, would be to legitimize Iran's shipment of weapons to the Muslims in Bosnia.

Mr. Dole also proposed a "Post-Cold War Powers Act" that would redesign and restrict the financing of UN peacekeeping operations and place strict limits on allowing American troops to serve under UN command.

The bill would also set a maximum of 25 percent for the U.S. share of the total UN peacekeeping budget, down from the current share of 31 percent. That goal is shared by the administration.

Mr. Dole's proposal would

also eliminate all but two sections of the War Powers Resolution.

That law, enacted in 1973, requires a president to notify Congress in a timely fashion when American troops are being sent abroad with a strong probability that they will engage in combat. The troops must be withdrawn within 90

days unless Congress explicitly approves their mission.

In recent years, presidents have consulted with Congress about sending troops abroad but have rejected the part of the law that requires them to bring troops home unless they are given congressional approval. Mr. Dole's proposal would bring the law into line with that practice.

## Neighbors Of Russia Are Jittery

By Jane Perlez  
New York Times Service

WARSAW — In the countries of Eastern Europe that five years ago were satellites of the Soviet Union, the fighting in southern Russia has set off nervous reactions. In some capitals, the apprehension has been expressed by long silences, prompted by concerns of offending Moscow.

Prominent among the fears is that an authoritarian and strongly nationalistic government is re-emerging in Moscow of the kind that repressed desires for independence in the region during the Communist era.

"It does remind one of Hungary in 1956 when you had civilians killed and the world watched and only after it was all over did people say we should have done something," said Zbigniew Liwicki, a former senior official at the Polish Foreign Ministry who is now a scholar at the East-West Institute in Prague.

Mr. Liwicki said the Polish government, a coalition of former Communist parties, was "very sensitive" to Russia and thus had made no declarations against the offensive in Chechnya.

But President Lech Walesa, who is in a political brawl with the leftist government over a number of issues, condemned the Russian stance for the first time on Wednesday.

"I know from personal experience that the resolution of problems is impossible with the use of force," Mr. Walesa said. While the official reaction has been muted until now, a group of 16 Polish intellectuals published an open letter last week saying they strongly supported the criticisms of Russian government policy by Russian intellectuals.

The letter, published in Gazeta Wyborcza, the largest-circulation newspaper in Poland, said: "The feeling of imminent danger grows and intensifies in the neighboring countries."

The first of the East European countries to criticize the Russians was the Czech Republic, when Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said on Dec. 23 that Moscow's actions were unacceptable.

In what seemed a pointed but unspoken reference to Chechnya, the Czech president, Vaclav Havel, said in his New Year's address that there was an urgent need to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as far as possible to include the Eastern European nations to "resolve the security vacuum" in the region.

Several commentators noted that the Czech Republic had the most Western-oriented government and was not composed of former Communists.

"Russia is not their problem," said Alexander Smolai, a political scientist and the chairman of the Stefan Batory Foundation, a research institute in Warsaw. "They are further away; they are more free in their public utterances. In Poland, it is always more delicate."

## POLICY: U.S. Fears That Russian Leader Is Being Controlled by Hard-Liners on Chechnya

Continued from Page 1

questioned by other political figures there.

Washington's fear all along has been that a prolonged conflict would undermine Mr. Yeltsin's political standing among reformers and propel him further into the camp of the war's nationalistic and military supporters. Some U.S. officials maintain that this has already happened, while others emphasize that Mr. Yeltsin still has a chance to divorce himself from the conservatives.

Mr. Yeltsin's decision to order a halt to aerial bombing of Grozny was hailed by the administration as a step in the right direction. But U.S. uncer-

tainty about Mr. Yeltsin's commitment — or power — to scale back the conflict was reflected in a remark by the State Department spokesman, Mike McCurry, that "we would be anxious to see that that order in fact be implemented."

Officials said the administration was trying to determine whether Mr. Yeltsin still controlled the war, or whether his advisers were in control of him — as suggested by the military's decision to ignore a previous Yeltsin order to halt the bombing.

"Is this guy in charge?" one official asked. "Is this all of his own doing? People aren't sure."

"We are seriously concerned about the whole situation," another official said. The United States applauds the reform process, he said, but has grown alarmed by Mr. Yeltsin's new distance from politicians such as Yegor T. Gaidar who are key supporters of democratic reform, and his recent alliance with "lawdry" advisers whose commitment to reform is highly uncertain.

Chief among these advisers, according to U.S. intelligence reports, is Major General Alexander Korzhakov, chief of the Presidential Security Service and a Yeltsin aide since 1985. General Korzhakov is "providing advice on matters of state way beyond his level of competence and expertise," a U.S. official said.

Another close Yeltsin adviser on Chechnya is said to be Victor Ilyushin, whose title is first assistant to the president. The CIA report, which one official described as an "analytical snapshot" of the crisis, claimed that both Mr. Ilyushin and General Korzhakov were bent on using the crisis to bolster Mr. Yeltsin's political standing among conservative security and military-oriented interests.

The report speculated that these officials could pressure Mr. Yeltsin to respond to probable calls from the Russian Parliament for a presidential election earlier than next year — amounting in effect to a plebiscite on his domestic policies and his handling of the war — by invoking emergency state powers. Such a step would clearly mark a retreat from the nation's progress towards full democracy.

U.S. officials said they were at a loss to explain why Mr. Yeltsin had allied himself with these advisers and continued to pursue the war despite ample evidence that it was faring much worse than anticipated. Several raised questions about Mr. Yeltsin's health and noted recurrent reports that he remains a heavy drinker.

## Funds Shortfall Imperils Remaking of El Salvador

By Barbara Crossette  
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — El Salvador's program of reconstruction and reconciliation is short \$137 million and in danger of losing momentum in its critical last phase, the country's vice president and leading members of the former rebel army have told the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali.

"Peace is not enough," Vice President Enrique Borgo Bustamante said. "We need social peace. We need to remake whatever was Salvador. We need to walk that last part of the road, and we feel so short of breath."

He spoke in a joint interview with Salvador Sánchez Ceren, secretary-general of the former rebel group, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. The Front is now a political party in

opposition, but is split by internal differences.

The United Nations has been formally involved since 1991 in a plan to restore peace and rebuild an economy destroyed by a 12-year civil war.

Two years ago this month, the UN secretary-general presided over the signing of a peace treaty in Mexico City, followed by the establishment of a recovery fund of more than \$1.5 billion. Two-thirds of this was pledged by the Salvadoran government and the rest raised by assessment of UN members.

Government officials say they cannot provide any more money without levying new taxes or cutting into education and health programs.

UN officials hold up the Salvadoran accord as one of the organization's post-Cold War success stories. It covers a wide range of activities.

## ITALY: Immigrants Set Upon

Continued from Page 1

in farming, fishing, and the hotel and restaurant businesses. For many, the reception in this land often praised for its hospitality has been anything but cordial.

According to the Violence Observatory, a volunteer group in Rome that tracks the attacks, an average of at least one assault was carried out against foreigners each day in 1993. The organization says the number rose in 1994, although figures are not yet available.

Loretta Caponi, who heads the group, said about 70 percent of the violence occurred in Rome, which is home to a large portion of the immigrants. Sometimes, as in Torvaianica, individuals are the random targets. In December, four Romans were convicted by a court for attacking a Senegalese beach vendor with broken bottles while on vacation in August in Sardinia.

Sometimes the violence befalls groups. Last summer, fire destroyed a barracks housing hundreds of farm workers at Villa Literno, near Naples. Local people blamed disorder in the camp for the fire. The inhabitants, mostly African field-workers who bring in the huge tomato harvest, said it was arson.

Gangs of rightist youths known here as "Nazi skins," with their shaved heads, black shirts, and fascist-style salutes, are often blamed for the attacks. But Miss Caponi said that such gangs were responsible for fewer than half the cases her group registered.

Some of the violence, Mr. Manconi said, appeared to have

been carried out by organized crime groups as a means of disciplining illegal workers in the underground economy. The rest, the sociologist said, is the work of "ordinary Italians."

He described a flood of insensitivity toward immigrants in a country where nearly every village and town sent people abroad a century ago. Last summer, a Rome furniture store advertised its wares on billboards with the scantily clad figure of an African woman and the words, "As long as you have no ring in your nose, you can pay over 30 months, with no interest."

There was no outcry, Mr. Manconi said, and the store owner, when interviewed, said many customers liked the advertisement.

Pap Khouma, a Senegalese immigrant in Milan who described his experience in a book, "I Vendor of Elephants," says the mood of denial and aggression is fostered by the neofascists in Mr. Berlusconi's government.

The Reverend Herbert Heiss, a Swiss priest who works in Torvaianica, defends the townsfolk from any charges of racism. Miss Fotino's family, he said, has asked that in lieu of sending flowers, donations be given to the town's immigrant social center.

Torvaianica, he said, had shared in Italy's postwar economic boom. "Now, the young cannot find work," he said. "Older people are storekeepers, or commute to Rome, and only come here to sleep. So there's no attachment. Particularly in winter, violence comes from sources like these. It takes very little — an incident like this one."

## Russian Jets Keep Grozny on Edge

By James Rupert  
Washington Post Service

GROZNY, Russia — A day after President Boris N. Yeltsin ordered a halt to air raids on Grozny, the capital of rebel Chechnya, it was unclear whether they had stopped. Shelling of the city, which has demolished countless homes and other civilian targets, continued at a diminished pace.

Russian planes continued to circle Grozny and the Chechen-held area south of here, and rebel fighters said they saw some drop bombs or fire rockets. But journalists who toured the city during the day were unable to confirm air strikes.

Russian gunners continued to shell Thursday, but less intensively than on many days since Russia's assault on the city began on New Year's Eve. Heavy fighting continued in the city center, where it appeared that a Russian unit had been pinned down for several days near the main train station.

Along a main street between the train station and Chechnya's presidential palace, more than 20 bodies of Russian soldiers lay amid their wrecked and burned armored vehicles, according to a Lithuanian cameraman working for AP television. The bodies and vehicles appeared to have been left from the first night of the Russian assault here.

Chechen fighters, who have fought off two drives by Russian armored vehicles into the center, said they were awaiting a renewed Russian assault after reports that Moscow was sending crack troops to replace the less experienced units that have conducted the assaults so far.

Throughout the day, Russian jets could be heard crisscrossing the region above heavy cloud cover. At a Chechen militia post in the southwest of the city, Salah Tsagayev, a 31-year-old oil worker-turned-rebel, said he saw a jet dive from the clouds and fire rockets over a neighborhood to the east.

"There were three or four explosions," he said. "We couldn't see what they hit."

Mr. Yeltsin's order Wednesday to halt the bombing did not appear necessarily to include strikes on rural locales in Chechen-held territory to the south. Journalists have confirmed at least 12 air raids on roads, bridges, markets and a hospital since Monday that have killed at least 78 people. Still, no new air strikes were reported on rural targets Thursday.

The hull in bombing and shelling allowed some of the 100,000 people trapped in Grozny to scavenge for food in the streets. At the city's southern edge, which has remained relatively undamaged, people gathered at a row of tables set up along a curb to form a rudimentary marketplace. With stacks of crackers in red packages and a few oranges piled on the tables, the market seemed to offer Grozny's only bit of color — and its only reminder of normal life.

## EUROPE: Test of Cohesion

Continued from Page 1

highly fractious domestic political campaign that will not be resolved until a successor to President François Mitterrand is chosen in May.

What worries officials in various European capitals is that the latest foreign and security challenges, which have underscored the distinct vulnerabilities faced by Union countries, are likely to become more troublesome in the months ahead, when most decisions and policies will be held in abeyance until France's new political leadership is determined.

The seizure last month of an Air France plane by four Algerian hijackers highlighted the fact that Europe, and especially France, can no longer pretend to remain immune from a civil war pitting Algeria's army-backed government against Islamic militants.

France and other southern European states fear that hundreds of thousands of Algerians would try to flee northward if the Islamic Salvation Front and its fundamentalist allies succeeded in taking control.

French officials acknowledge that even without the specter of a takeover by Islamic fundamentalists, the ruined state of Algeria's economy and the demographic explosion that has created a society in which 70 percent of the country's 26 million citizens are under the age of 30 would continue to propel Arab immigrants across the Mediterranean regardless of the crackdown waged by France's tough interior minister, Charles Pasqua.

The French government seems divided over whether to follow Mr. Pasqua's policy prescription of conducting an active yet discreet campaign against the Islamic militants, including frequent sweeps of Algerian immigrant quarters across Europe and clandestine arms deliveries to the secular authorities, or a more conciliatory approach favored by Foreign Minister Alain Juppé.

Mr. Juppé advocates dialogue with Islamic moderates leading to a revival of democratic elections that the Islamic Front seemed poised to win three years ago.

Mr. Pasqua and other French officials have asserted that Britain, Germany and the United States have done a disservice to allied solidarity by failing to cooperate in a crackdown against the Islamic militants. Indeed, none of France's allies have any



The human rights activist Sergei Kovalev, back from Chechnya, declaring Thursday in Moscow: "As regards the lies, we have surpassed the Communists and even Goebbels."

desire to antagonize Islamic militants because they do not feel their national interests are involved in Algeria.

At the EU summit meeting last month in Essen, Germany, members agreed on a detailed blueprint, largely drawn up by the German government and financed by a multibillion dollar trade and aid package, that will upgrade living standards in the East and ease the transition of the former Communist states to full EU members.

"The difference is that with the East, we are talking about future members of a prosperous and democratic club of European states," said Manuel Marín, the EU's executive commission-

er for relations with Mediterranean countries.

"With the South, we are, at best, talking about associate states with open trading arrangements but who will never be part of the club," he said. "We need to do something more to rectify this imbalance."

But with Germany unwilling to serve as a perennial sugar daddy for poor southern states,

the future course of the Union is becoming painfully clear to France and its Mediterranean neighbors. Once the Eastern states come into the Union, they fear, the creation of a "Teutonic bloc" will strand them on the periphery of a grand Europe dominated by Germany's powerful economy and central geographic position.

## Arts & Antiques

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## CHECHNYA: Accord on Hold

Continued from Page 1

that the United States found troubling. "It's not a question of whether they used force, but it's a question of how the force was used and the resultant heavy casualties, heavy loss of life, which has been a matter of concern to us," Mr. Christopher said.

In Vienna, the leader of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe also condemned Russia's attack on Chechnya and called Thursday for an immediate halt to military operations. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs of Hungary, the organization's chairman, said the conflict posed a serious threat to the security of the Russian Federation, the region and the Continent.

Mr. Christopher said Thursday that Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozirev of Russia had told him that Moscow was open to a role for the organization in helping to resolve the conflict.

Russia's human rights chief, Sergei Kovalev, just back from an extended stay in Grozny, said Moscow's account of the Chechen campaign was more dishonest than Nazi propaganda and warned that Russian democracy was in grave peril.

"As regards the lies, we have surpassed the Communists and even Goebbels," Mr. Kovalev said.

Mr. Kovalev, who was jailed for his human rights work in the Soviet era, said he would meet Mr. Yeltsin on Friday to find the source of the "gigantic lie."

(Reuters, AP, NYT)

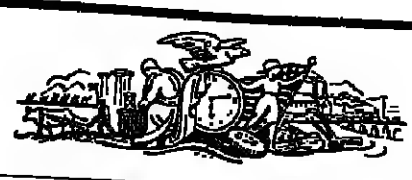
## GULF: No Toxic Evidence

Continued from Page 1

and a chemical-warfare antidote known as pyridostigmine. Anthrax vaccine was given to about 150,000 service members (out of nearly 700,000 deployed), and botulinum toxin vaccine was given to about 8,000. Though the latter is an experimental vaccine and not fully licensed by the Food and Drug Administration, extensive use of both substances suggests they are safe and have not caused chronic illness in the past, the panel said.

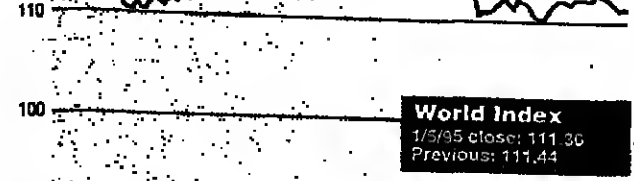
"We have no evidence that vaccines in general cause the nonspecific complaints associated with service during Operation Desert Storm," the members wrote.





# THE TRIB INDEX: 111.36

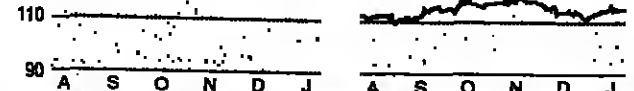
International Herald Tribune World Stock Index ©, composed of 280 internationally investable stocks from 25 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.



World Index  
1/5/95 close: 111.36  
Previous: 111.44

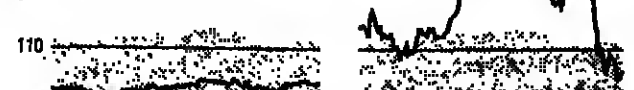
## Asia/Pacific

Approx. weighting: 32%  
Close: 124.33 Prev.: 124.18  
Up 0.15%



## Europe

Approx. weighting: 37%  
Close: 114.17 Prev.: 114.63  
Down 0.40%



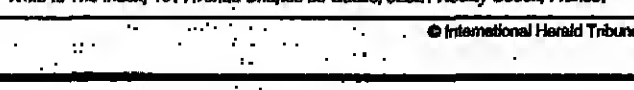
## North America

Approx. weighting: 25%  
Close: 96.08 Prev.: 96.39  
Down 0.32%



## Latin America

Approx. weighting: 5%  
Close: 101.26 Prev.: 98.41  
Up 2.85%



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and other major financial centers. The index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the top 100 issues are tracked.

## Industrial Sectors

The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and other major financial centers. The index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the top 100 issues are tracked.

For more information about the index, a booklet is available free of charge. Write to Trib Index, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France.

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## Rating Falls in Sweden

### Country's Debt Is Downgraded

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

STOCKHOLM — Moody's Investors Service Inc., the international credit rating agency, delivered a stunning blow to Sweden's Social Democratic-led government Thursday by downgrading the country's long-term foreign currency debt rating.

The announcement was made just five days before the center-left government elected last September is to present its first budget, in which it has pledged to introduce austerity measures.

Sweden's total debt stands at around 1.3 trillion kronor (\$174 billion), Moody's said about \$52.8 billion in debt securities would be affected by the downgrade.

By downgrading Sweden's sovereign debt rating to Aa3 from Aa2, Moody's said the Swedish population apparently did not accept that the country had been living beyond its means.

"Inevitably the debt burden will force Swedes to make large-scale modifications to their public benefit programs and accept slower growth in their standard of living," Moody's said.

Finance Minister Goran Persson has vowed to stop the growth of the country's 200 billion kronor budget deficit by 1998. He has pledged to announce spending cuts of around 20 billion kronor in Tuesday's state budget, which will require dramatic reductions in the country's social welfare programs.

"Even if the government can implement significant budget tightening over the next few years, Sweden's public debt position could still be weak at the point when the next cyclical downturn begins," Moody's said.

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## China Shuts Newspaper

### Move Highlights Foreign Firms' Problems

By Kevin Murphy  
International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — China has halted the production in Beijing of the Hong Kong Standard, the only foreign English-language newspaper granted official permission to print in the country on a daily basis.

The decision comes as Beijing has moved to thwart other foreign media companies' expansion plans into China and as a series of contractual disputes involving foreign businesses and Chinese counterparts have jarred investor confidence in the giant but unruly market.

A front-page notice in the Hong Kong Standard on Thursday reported that the newspaper, owned by Sing Tao Holdings, would print its final China edition on Saturday, "despite the existence of a three-year contract."

"It was very short notice," said Jim Marrett, general manager of the company, who was summoned to Beijing on Monday and told by the printers of the government-owned China Daily simply that "technical and print-capacity problems" prompted the shutdown.

"China Daily is increasing in size from eight to twelve pages, but they knew that when the deal was signed," said Mr. Marrett, whose newspaper is the second-largest selling of three English-language newspapers in Hong Kong. "If there is anything else to this, we are unaware of it."

A number of banks have taken steps to collect bad debts and enforce contracts signed by Chinese commercial groups in deals that have gone sour in recent months.

McDonald's Corp. is still locked in negotiations with authorities over the forced closure of the company's flagship restaurant in Beijing.

The U.S. securities firm Lehman Brothers Inc. has led the way with a lawsuit filed in New York seeking nearly \$100 million from two state-backed Chinese metals trading companies.

The dispute is one of several that have prompted international credit-rating agencies to focus on corporate China's conduct.

"I guess they have a different concept of contracts," Mr. Marrett said of the abrupt cancellation of the Hong Kong Standard agreement, which took a year to negotiate and which had been operating for four months.

"We are still talking, we are not at the lawyers' stage yet," he said. "But we hope we can receive some compensation for an investment that was not profitable in the short term."

Mr. Marrett said that the Hong Kong Standard had not received any notice of difficulties with the commercial arrangements or of official disquiet with its editorial policy.

China has recently handed out harsh prison sentences to mainland journalists writing about Chinese affairs for Hong Kong publications.

Authorities recently closed down Modern Mankind, a daily in the city of Guangzhou, partially owned by CIM Co., which also controls the liberal Chinese-language daily Ming Pao in Hong Kong.

The dispute with Sally Aw Sian's Sing Tao group, which publishes Chinese-language newspapers around the world, is surprising because the company's newspapers had been seen to be taking a softer line on previously strong opposition to Chinese policies.

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## Russia Decides To Liberalize Its Oil Market

By Steven Erlanger  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — With worries increasing about the cost of the Chechnya invasion and its impact on Russia's tight budget, Western governments and international lending institutions got some better news Thursday as the government decided to partly liberalize the domestic oil market.

A decree signed by Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin but not yet published eliminates domestic quotas on the sale of oil, in response to intense lobbying by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the U.S. government.

World Bank officials said, "That's a big change from last week, and even two days ago," said Charles Blitzer, chief economist for the World Bank. While not a total victory for economic reformers in the cabinet, he said, "It's a good sign, a move generally in the right direction."

Until a few days ago, the Russian government planned, according to diplomats and news reports, to retain domestic quotas for oil companies, requiring them to sell up to 65 percent of their output in the cheaper home market. The justification for the quotas was made on nationalistic grounds, but it also kept bureaucratic control over the quotas and the companies allowed to export.

The new decision is mixed, the diplomats and economists said, because while the decree drops quotas, it retains the principle of exporting through specified companies, now 14 of them, which must be approved by the government. So the issues of bureaucratic favoritism and potential corruption remain.

Despite that, one Western diplomat said, "Frankly, it's the first really good economic news in months."

With the cost of the unfinished Chechnya crisis estimated at between 10 trillion and 20 trillion rubles (\$2.8 billion and \$5.5 billion) in 1995 — between 1 percent and 2 percent of gross national product — fears of new inflation drove the dollar up to 3,623 rubles Thursday, the ruble's lowest rate since it crashed in October.

Inflation for December hit 16.4 percent for the month, the highest monthly figure since January 1994. The draft 1995 budget foresees monthly inflation falling to about 3 percent and a budget deficit of about 6 percent of gross national product. That was already too high for the International Monetary Fund and did not include the extra Chechnya expenses, let alone any new money the military may get for needed reorganization and training.

There are also Western worries about the new privatization minister, Vladimir Polevov, who said he wanted to renationalize some "strategic" industries, such as metals. He is opposed by the former minister of privatization, Anatoli B. Chubais, who outranks him, but has support from other more nationalist voices in the cabinet.

Mr. Chubais's influence was also important on the oil decision, Mr. Blitzer said.

The IMF and the World Bank had lobbied hard on the oil-quota issue, saying it would be a crucial factor in their decision to provide the Russian government the \$13 billion or so in hard-currency loans it is counting on to finance the 1995 budget.

The abandonment of the quotas will begin to move the domestic oil structure toward the market and away from state planning, Western diplomats said. But it should also provide more money to the government in taxes and more profit to domestic oil companies, which say they do not have enough money to refit aging pipelines.

## China to Ban Project Investment

BEIJING — China will ban new investment in construction projects in 1995 in its battle against inflation, now at its highest level since the Communists took power in 1949, officials said Thursday.

"China will not approve any new large and medium-sized fixed-asset investment projects this year, in a bid to curb rising inflation," Xinhua news agency quoted an official of the State Planning Commission as saying.

Demand in China for building materials, such as steel, cement and bricks, far outstrips supply.

"The drastic increase in fixed-asset investments was one of the major causes of serious inflation in 1994," Xinhua said.

The official said Beijing would also launch a nationwide appraisal of already approved fixed-asset investment projects — a daunting task, with the skylines of most cities bristling with building cranes.

Inflation in 1994 hit 24.2 percent and posed a serious threat to social and economic development, two researchers from the central bank wrote in a commentary in the People's Daily.

Investment in fixed assets totaled 1.6 trillion yuan (\$188 billion) in 1994, up 28.5 percent from 1993.

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## WALL STREET WATCH

### Hondo: A Bet for the Brave

By Allen R. Myerson  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In an age when the oil and gas business means the avoidance of risk — balancing production with refining and marketing, forming elaborate partnerships, hedging in the futures markets — Robert O. Anderson's gamble is a rarity.

Mr. Anderson, 77, chairman and founder of Hondo Oil & Gas Co., sold off or closed the company's refineries and all its production sites to bet on one Colombian well.

He is not some wild-eyed novice. A former chief executive of Atlantic Richfield Co., he turned that company into one of the largest U.S. energy producers.

In September, Hondo reported that its Colombian well had struck a great deal of natural gas. The company has cautiously cited published estimates that the field contains about 4 trillion cubic feet of gas, which would have a market value of about \$2 billion, analysts said.

Petroleum liquids from the same well could be worth almost as much as the gas itself, although the company would not project those results to the whole field. Hondo stock — which had become a favorite of short-sellers, who bet that a stock will fall — reached \$19.875 after the September announcement, more than double its price just two months before.

Since then, Hondo has drifted back down. The stock closed Thursday at \$9.625, down \$1.875 in American Stock Exchange trading.

The initial euphoria over the Colombian discovery has cooled for some logical reasons. The market value of Hondo's stock plus its debts currently comes to about \$230 million.

The entire Colombian project, therefore, would have to be worth at least \$2 billion to have enough potential earnings power to justify Hondo's current stock price.

Estimating the size of the reserves will require a second deep well, which could take four or five months to drill.

Even then, Hondo would end up with only a slice of the profit. To finance the Colombian project, Hondo had to give Amoco Corp. a 60 percent interest, leaving 30 percent with Hondo and 10 percent with another investor.

In addition, Ecopetrol, the Colombian state-owned oil company, can claim half of all earnings, and the Colombian government gets a 20 percent royalty on the remaining profit. Hondo's ultimate share would be just 12 percent.

Worse still, Hondo so far has no market for its gas. The nearest likely customer is a government oil refinery 30 miles away. Colombia wants to promote the industrial use of natural gas, but has not yet agreed to any purchases. Completing a pipeline could easily take two years.

For now, the Hondo well is closed. Hondo remains heavily in debt to Lorbro PLC, the British conglomerate, from years of losses, with about \$35 million personally guaranteed by Mr. Anderson.

Lorbro owns 39 percent of the company. Mr. Anderson 31 percent and his sons 8 percent. Lorbro could increase its stake to satisfy debts.

Hondo has prepared to get by with greatly reduced costs. The company now has only five employees, compared with 175 before its property sales in 1992. Mr. Anderson's two sons, who had been executive vice presidents, have both left the company.

## Wall Street Hears From Mexico

By Lawrence Malkin  
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Mexico's finance minister, Guillermo Ortiz, barnstormed through Wall Street on Thursday with a firm set of economic targets to prepare investors for a new issue of bonds rolling over the country's short-term debt.

The Mexican stock market and peso strengthened in response. In late trading, Mexico's Bolsa index was up 0.78 percent, to 2,287.48 points, while in New York, the dollar slipped to 3.575 pesos from 3.575 pesos Wednesday.

A standing-room-only crowd of several hundred bankers and investors summoned to a New York hotel ballroom gave Mr. Ortiz a round of applause.

He also visited major newspapers, banks and credit-rating agencies with the message that the Mexican economy was not in a fundamental imbalance but suffering "a crisis of confidence" because it had delayed the devaluation of its currency for too long. On Friday, Mr. Ortiz planned to visit the Washington headquarters of the International Monetary Fund to discuss further standby credits.

[Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, See MESSAGE, Page 10]

On January 9, 1995, the IHT will carry a 12-page editorial feature that sums up the past year's activities in the U.S. stock markets.

## YEAR-END U.S. STOCK MARKET REVIEW

Among the topics to be covered are:

- Prospects for the year ahead on Wall Street.
- A fever-line chart and winners-and-losers table for each of the major markets.
- Review of the Trib Index and its 280 stocks in 25 countries.
- Hot Stox: what sectors did really well last year?
- The Wall Street investment industry — salaries, winners and losers, underwriting, trends in mergers and acquisitions.
- People and events of the year: awards for big blunders and the major coups.
- Performance of the world's major equities markets outside the United States.

For information about advertising in this editorial feature, please contact James McLeod in Paris at (33-1) 46 37 93 81.











**Thursday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

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12 Month  
Legal Case Book

# PRICE PL

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# JIMMETS

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一、本會為維護會員權益，特訂定本會章程，凡加入本會者，均須遵守。  
 二、本會之宗旨，在於促進會員間之交流與合作，共同發展，維護會員之合法權益。  
 三、本會之組織，由會員大會、理事會、監事會及秘書處等組成。  
 四、本會之經費，由會員繳納之會費及社會捐助等項組成。  
 五、本會之活動，包括舉辦講座、研討會、展覽等，以增進會員之知識與技能。  
 六、本會之服務，包括提供會員諮詢、代辦各項手續等，以協助會員之工作。  
 七、本會之榮譽，包括頒發獎狀、證書等，以表彰會員之傑出貢獻。  
 八、本會之紀律，包括對違反章程之會員進行處分，以維護會章之權威。  
 九、本會之修改，由會員大會通過，並經三分之二以上會員同意。  
 十、本會之終止，由會員大會通過，並經三分之二以上會員同意。

*[The page contains multiple columns of extremely faint, illegible vertical text.]*

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## ASIA/PACIFIC

# STAR TV Gets Help in Battle For Asian Youth

**Bloomberg Business News**  
HONG KONG — STAR TV's Asian music channel won the support of four international music companies Thursday in its effort to eclipse MTV Asia in the battle for the Asian youth market.

News Corp., which controls STAR, announced the move to broaden the investor base of Channel V.

The four companies that bought into Channel V are EMI Music Ltd., a unit of Thorn EMI PLC of Britain; Sony Pictures Entertainment (Japan) Inc.; BMG Ariola Musik GmbH, a unit of Bertelsmann AG of Germany; and the Warner Music group of companies, owned by Time Warner Inc. of the United States. Each company will own 12.5 percent of the music channel.

Channel V, which is broadcast from Hong Kong, will be run in a 50-50 joint venture between STAR and the four companies after the sale, a STAR TV spokesman said.

Terms of the acquisition were not disclosed. News Corp., which paid \$525 million for 63.5 percent of STAR in July 1993, will probably use the money from the sale to defray the costs of building STAR's network.

The joint venture will compete with MTV Asia, which is due to be relaunched soon.

MTV Asia was on the STAR network until May 1994, when the two companies severed their two-and-a-half-year relationship. This followed a long-running dispute about how advertising revenue would be shared. Channel V was born out of that breakup.

"This is a positive sign for Channel V's program supplies, and it could help advertising because of that," said Leo Wong, media director for the advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather.

The STAR spokesman said there was no exclusive licensing of videos or particular stars involved. "There is nothing to say that a video shown on STAR will not be shown on another service," he said.

David Hughes, vice president of EMI Records, said: "Our relationship with MTV, which is a very good and very strong relationship, will be unchanged. This project is a good way for us to develop new markets and to help us promote our artists, especially our Asian artists, through this new medium."

Don Atyeo, general manager of Channel V, said the union "will redefine music television for all of Asia."

Channel V currently provides 24-hour music-video and other youth-entertainment programs to more than 50 million homes across Asia and the Middle East.

It broadcasts in Mandarin Chinese, English and Hindi. STAR says there are plans for other Asian languages to be used.

EMI Music, Sony and Warner are already partners in VIVA, a successful German-language music-video channel in Germany.

PolyGram Holding Inc., another VIVA partner, is not part of the latest transaction.

PolyGram's absence may be felt, because it has signed many Hong Kong and Chinese pop stars to its label.

# EU Lets U.S. Talk Tough on China

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — European companies are increasingly alarmed about piracy of intellectual property in China, but European governments — content to let Washington take the lead in confronting Beijing — are avoiding U.S.-style retaliation.

"We have regular meetings with the Chinese, and we are raising this issue with them," said an official at the European Commission, the executive body of the European Union. Most of the contacts take place in Geneva, where China is trying to persuade its major trading partners to let it into the World Trade Organization, which governs global commerce.

The EU official said it was too early to consider retaliation, though, and piracy was just "one of the issues." That China must address before the Union would consent to China's entry into the WTO.

The EU is just as concerned about getting China to lower some of its high tariff barriers on imports and grant foreign firms access to its potentially lucrative markets for cars and financial services, EU officials said.

The United States last weekend

threatened to impose retaliatory tariffs on about \$2.8 billion of Chinese exports, including toys, clothing and consumer electronics, unless Beijing cracks down on illegal copying of music, movies and computer software.

Although American companies are most affected because they dominate those industries, European companies also are feeling the pinch and complaining about it.

The London-based International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, as well as prominent European members such as Thorn EMI PLC and Polygram Holding Inc., have written the commission recently to urge it to take a strong line on piracy.

Although there are no EU estimates of losses to piracy, German industry federations have estimated their members alone are losing 220 million Deutsche marks (\$140 million) of sales a year to pirated compact disks, \$115 million on movie videos and as much as \$1.5 billion on software.

Despite the losses, European companies are not clamoring for the commission to match Washington's tough tactics, just as they have supported the commission's conciliatory approach to trade disputes with Japan.

Liesel Quambusch of the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce in Bonn said many Europeans feared that U.S. threats of retaliation were aimed at winning concessions only for American companies. She said the West should seek to get China into the WTO as quickly as possible to force Beijing to adhere to the organization's tough new rules protecting intellectual property.

■ **Britain Is Hopeful on WTO Entry**

Sir Leon Brittan, the EU trade commissioner, said it was "not impossible" for China to join the World Trade Organization "within a matter of months," Reuters reported.

"I very much hope that it will still be possible for China to join," Sir Leon told a European Parliament committee.

Sir Leon said he based his hopes on indications that China might be ready to comply with what its trading partners considered "minimal normal trade rules," something he said China had been unwilling to do.

# Beijing Urges Companies to Shape Up

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — Responding to rising international pressure to curb unfair trading practices, the government Thursday warned Chinese industry to improve its image to combat allegations of dumping of Chinese exports.

An official of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, quoted by the Xinhua news agency, told Chinese manufacturers to concentrate on improving the quality of their products and ordered chambers of commerce to "respond promptly" to allegations of dumping.

The ministry recorded 37 cases in 1994 in which Chinese exports were investigated or

fined in anti-dumping cases, according to the news agency.

Fifteen of the cases took place in the United States, nine in Europe and five in Mexico, the news agency said.

Chinese products involved in the suits included clothing, machinery, electrical products, chemical products, food and light industrial products.

China's losses through anti-dumping fines ran to several hundred million dollars in 1994, according to the trade official, with incalculable indirect losses.

The official warned that with intense competition in world markets, China could no longer afford to be seen as a nation that competed only

by cutting prices and manufacturing in quantity.

In addition to the damage to exports from current anti-dumping actions, he said, China may lose access to future markets as countries refuse to import Chinese goods.

China's trading partners have also increased pressure on Beijing to reform as a condition of accepting China's application to join the World Trade Organization.

The official said Chinese manufacturers should concentrate on improving quality so that prices will rise and Chinese enterprises will not be "misunderstood" as being guilty of dumping, he said.

In the event a manufacturer

is sued for dumping, the relevant chamber of commerce should answer the suit promptly, the official said.

The official also accused some countries of using anti-dumping as a pretext for keeping out competitive Chinese products.

An official of the Light Industry Chamber of Commerce, however, said China shared the blame for several anti-dumping suits against its shoe industry and called for curbs on price competition among exporters.

The official urged Beijing to adopt tougher export licensing and quota systems.

(Reuters, Knight-Ridder, AFP)

# Bombay Investors Fear Weak Reforms After Rao's Speech

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW DELHI — Indian stocks fell Thursday after a speech by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao pledging support for economic reform efforts failed to ease investor concerns that the program will be diluted.

"The gist of the speech was to get everyone interested in India again," said Premal Madhavi, an analyst with D.S. Purobhadras. "But the prime minister was also talking a lot about giving something to everyone. That's not going to work."

The national stock index fell 1.4 percent, to 1,818.92.

In a speech Wednesday before the

Confederation of Indian Industry in Calcutta, Mr. Rao said the commitment to reforms would remain but emphasized that they needed to have a "human face" — which some interpreted as giving in to demands of various political interest groups.

The defeat of the Congress (I) Party in state elections in southern India in December has been cited as the cause of a drop in stock prices in recent weeks. Investors have been concerned that, in an effort to shore up its political base, the party will slow the market-oriented economic changes that began more than three years ago.

Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd of

Britain offered some support to Mr. Rao. Mr. Hurd, heading a delegation to the Confederation of Indian Industry's centenary celebration in Calcutta, said Britain welcomed the reforms as a positive step to instill confidence among overseas investors.

He praised Mr. Rao for his spirited defense of liberalization at the launch of the conference Wednesday. But he also urged against a "cautious, middle-path" approach and said India should accelerate its economic changes.

"Reform as fast as you can; the world does not stand still," Mr. Hurd said. "Indian entrepreneurs have nothing to lose."

Mr. Hurd also said India should ease investment terms to attract more foreign capital.

Separately, Jagdish Tytler, India's minister of surface transport, issued an invitation to foreign capital, saying the transportation sector had "enormous investment potential" and guaranteeing generous returns.

"We have projects worth \$25 billion in the road sector alone," Mr. Tytler said.

"We guarantee 16 percent returns on dollar investment and 20 percent on rupee investment," he said. "The new Highway Act allows the private sector to levy tolls."

■ **Stocks Fall in Seoul and Manila**

Stocks fell sharply in Manila and Seoul, Bloomberg Business News reported from the two capitals.

In Seoul, the composite index fell 2.1 percent to 976.12. The index has fallen about 5 percent this week in the wake of attempts by the Bank of Korea to limit money supply.

The Philippine stock index dropped 1.5 percent to 2,729.37 as speculators dumped shares in the 17 companies that are competing to develop the land on which Fort Bonifacio, a retired military base, stands.

# Asarco Appoints 2 Directors to MIM Holdings

Bloomberg Business News

BRISBANE, Australia — Asarco Inc., the largest shareholder in MIM Holdings Ltd., said Thursday it would appoint two directors to the board of the Australian mining company.

The U.S. mining company's move was announced by MIM after the close of stock trading and a day after Norm Fussell, MIM's chief executive, said he would resign Friday.

Asarco said it would nominate Richard de J. Osborne, the executive chairman of Asarco, and Willard C. Butcher, a director, to the MIM board.

One analyst said Asarco's move could be interpreted as reflecting the U.S. company's desire to keep a close watch on MIM after Mr. Fussell leaves.

After Mr. Fussell's resignation, MIM shares were up 5 cents at 2.14 Australian dollars (\$1.65).

Although Mr. Fussell indicated his departure was for health reasons, analysts said his resignation was linked to losses at MIM's main operating center, Mount Isa in Queensland, and to losses linked to assets acquired from Metallgesellschaft AG of Germany.

Mining issues pressured the benchmark All Ordinaries index, which fell 16.70 points, to 1,869.50.

# Hong Kong Cites a Rise in Activity

Knight-Ridder

HONG KONG — The chief executive of Hong Kong Securities Clearing Co. said Thursday that recent settlement transactions for Hong Kong stocks were about 50 percent higher than historical levels despite the recent drop-off in turnover on the cash market.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that most of the increase in settlements is related to stock borrowing and lending, a practice associated with derivatives trading strategies, Richard Heckinger, chief executive of the clearing company, said.

Mr. Heckinger said the jump in settlements "is even more remarkable if viewed in relation to recent stock market turnover."

Daily turnover on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange has fallen sharply since reaching record levels last January.

Average daily turnover was 4.7 billion Hong Kong dollars (\$607 million) in 1994, according to the stock exchange. But it slumped as the bear market for stocks dragged on, with trading values in recent months sometimes coming in under 2 billion dollars a day.

Short-selling was not enough to account for the increase in stock borrowing, Mr. Heckinger indicated, because the stock exchange had recorded few short-selling transactions.

He said "sophisticated" derivatives trading strategies were probably responsible for the increase in noncash market settlements.

Meanwhile, turnover in Hang Seng Index futures and options has strengthened in recent months in tandem with the drop-off in trading on the cash market, the Hong Kong Futures Exchange said this week.

# Jakarta Ponders Protectionist Moves

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JAKARTA — President Suharto said Thursday that Indonesia could adopt protectionist policies to boost its domestic industries but added that such measures should be within the framework of international trade agreements.

Mr. Suharto, speaking before the Parliament, said Indonesia needed strong industries and that "protection is just one of the mechanisms we can create."

Mr. Suharto's comments about protectionism followed a controversy over demands in August by PT Chandra Asri, a petrochemical company, for protection against overseas

competition. The company has declined to make public the latest list of its shareholders, but it said that Bambang Trihatono, Mr. Suharto's son, was involved in management.

Mr. Suharto also unveiled a budget for the year beginning April 1 that would total 78.02 trillion rupiah (\$36 billion), or 7.3 percent more than the current budget.

He said Indonesia's economy 1994 had exceeded the 6.5 percent growth it recorded in 1993.

But he warned that the economy had become "somewhat overheated" in 1994 as the current-account deficit widened because of slower growth in ex-

ports and increased imports of goods and services.

The government predicted in August 1993 that annual economic growth would hold between 6 percent and 6.5 percent in the five-year development plan that began in April 1994.

(AFP, Reuters)

# Tokyo Investigates Firms

Agence France-Presse

TOKYO — The Fair Trade Commission said Thursday it was investigating alleged bid-rigging on stadium-screen contracts by several electronics companies.

Mitsubishi Electric Corp., Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. and Sony Corp. admitted they had been investigated by the commission.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1995

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## SPORTS

## No. 1 Tarheels Upset, Clemson Drops Duke

The Associated Press  
Top-ranked North Carolina and No. 11 Duke are closer in basketball history than even the 10 or so miles that separate the Tobacco Road campuses.

So when the schools with three national championships in the last four years both lost Wednesday night, it was only natural to think that hadn't happened in awhile. It had been just over five years, to be exact.

The Tar Heels' five-week run at No. 1 was jeopardized by an 80-70 loss at North Carolina State, while Duke was beaten at home, 75-70, by undefeated Clemson in the Atlantic Coast Conference opener for all four teams.

The last time both North Carolina and Duke lost on the same day was Dec. 9, 1989, when both lost on the road to Big Ten teams. Duke by 113-108 in overtime to Michigan and North Carolina by 87-84 to Iowa.

"All the sudden N.C. State and Clemson, for at least one night, are at the top of the league," North Carolina State coach, Les Robinson, said. "We've turned it upside down. The league is going to be crazy this year."

Lakisha McCuller made three 3-pointers in the final 5:04, and the Wolfpack (18-2) made nine of 10 free throws in the last 79 seconds for their first victory over a No. 1 team since beating the Tar Heels on Feb. 23, 1986.

"We were wanting to show we can compete in this league again," Robinson said. "Everybody knows the trail we've been down and the black eyes we've had and the bruises and the bumps. We're building back up little by little."

The Wolfpack, who have had three straight losing seasons, including 19 losses in each of the last two, took the lead for good at 69-66 on a 3-pointer by McCuller with 2:19 to play. He scored 24 points.

Jerry Stackhouse got 24 for the Tar Heels, who had to play without Dante Calabria, their injured guard.

"It just wasn't there for us tonight," said Stackhouse, who also had 12 rebounds and three blocks. "I don't think we played bad, but I don't think we played as well as we could have."

Clemson (9-0) won in Durham for the first time since 1984 and for just the fourth time in 46 games at Cameron Indoor Stadium. Duke (9-3) had won 10 of its previous 11 ACC openers.

The Blue Devils cut a 12-point second-half deficit to 60-58 with 3:56 left, but Rayfield Ragland, who led the Tigers with 16 points, sank a 16-footer and a 3-pointer, extending the lead to seven with 1:49 to play.

What made the upset even more improbable was that

Clemson was playing without its leading scorer, Devin Gray, who had a heart attack in April and returned to the lineup only to be declared academically ineligible for the second semester.

"They never let us get over the hump," said Duke's coach.

## COLLEGE HIGHLIGHTS

Mike Krzyzewski, "They'd come up with the big play."

Cherokee Parks led the Blue Devils with 19 points.

Mississippi 76, No. 3 Arkansas 71: In another stunner, Fred Johnson's three-point play with 21 seconds left gave the Rebels (4-5) a 5-point lead over Corey Beck's 3-pointer pulled the Razorbacks (11-2) to 73-71 just 12 seconds earlier.

The loss snapped an 11-game winning streak for Arkansas, which hadn't lost since the season opener against Massachusetts.

John Jackson had 18 points to lead the Rebels, who snapped a three-game losing streak in the Southeastern Conference opener for both teams.

Alex Dillard had 16 points for Arkansas, which had beaten Mississippi 12 straight times. The Razorbacks shot 39 percent, their worst game since the loss to UMass.

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No. 7 Maryland 80, No. 24 Georgia Tech 67: Joe Smith had 15 points, 14 rebounds and six blocked shots to lead the Terrapins (11-2) in the ACC opener for both teams. Maryland, 9-0 at home this season, lost nine of its previous 10 home games against Georgia Tech (8-4).

Texas 102, No. 19 Nebraska 74: Terrence Rencher had 25 points and became Texas' career steals leader as the Longhorns (6-2) beat a ranked team for the first time since an upset of Arkansas in March 1991.

Texas started the second half with a 9-2 run for a 58-42 lead and coasted from there. Jaron Boone had 22 points to lead the Cornhuskers (11-2), who had a 10-game winning streak snapped.

No. 22 Iowa 74, No. 21 Indiana 55: The Hawkeyes (11-2) started the game with a 25-6 run and snapped a six-game losing streak to Indiana in a Big Ten opener. Jess Settles had 18 points to lead Iowa, which matched last season's win total.

Alan Henderson had 16 points to lead the Hoosiers (8-5), who had a six-game winning streak snapped after missing 13 of their first 16 shots in the game. Brian Evans, averaging 17.7 points for Indiana, missed all three of his first-half shots and did not play in the second half.

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Fancy passer Anfernee Hardaway scored 33 points as the Magic edged the Nets.

## Knicks Clock Hawks, Wilkens Still Looking

The Associated Press  
Even playing in his hometown didn't help.

Brooklyn-born Lenny Wilkens, on a third attempt to get that one victory he needs to overtake Red Auerbach and become the winningest coach in NBA history, was still looking for it after the New York Knicks beat his Atlanta Hawks, 89-80.

"This is the hardest 13 games I've ever had to win," Wilkens said Wednesday. "I'll take them anywhere. It doesn't matter where you do it, just do it."

He got No. 938 — and Atlanta's 12th of the season — Dec. 29 against San Antonio. Since then, the Hawks have lost to Cleveland and Portland. Wilkens' next — and best — chance to pass Auerbach comes Friday night, when the Hawks play the Washington Bullets (7-20) in Atlanta.

New York won its fourth straight by holding the Hawks to one field goal in the final seven minutes. Atlanta was 2 of 13 from the field in the fourth quarter and was outscored, 50-33.

Patrick Ewing led New York with 21 points and 11 rebounds and Derek Harper added 20.

The Hawks pulled to 84-80 on two free throws by Andrew Lang with 1:45 to go. But after both teams missed shots, Hubert Davis sank a 3-pointer with 51 seconds left to put the game away and

Ewing potted two free throws with 30 seconds to go.

SuperSonics 116, Cavaliers 85: Gary Payton set a team record by going 14-of-14 from the floor as Seattle halted host Cleveland's 11-game winning streak.

Payton, who scored on 10 layups, two short jumpers, a dunk and a 3-pointer, got 32 points as

## NBA HIGHLIGHTS

he broke Lonnie Shelton's team mark of 13 shots without a miss, set in 1979 against Cleveland. Wilt Chamberlain holds the NBA record of 18-for-18.

Detlef Schrempf scored 20 and Kendall Gill had 13 for the Sonics, who shot 61 percent from the field. John Williams had 17 for Cleveland, which shot 39 percent.

Magic 113, Nets 110: Anfernee Hardaway scored 33 points, Shaquille O'Neal 25 and Nick Anderson 20 for Orlando, which rallied from an 11-point third-quarter deficit to remain the only NBA team unbeaten at home (14-0).

Suns 127, 76ers 122: Charles Barkley scored 14 of his 35 points in the final eight minutes as Phoenix avoided a second straight home loss. It is now 15-1 there.

Barkley also had 6 of his 14 rebounds in the final period, and his 10-footer in the lane made it 123-120, the Suns' biggest lead since the second quarter.

## SCOREBOARD

## NBA Standings

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

## Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Orlando	24	6	.800	—
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New York	16	12	.571	7
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Boston	12	12	.500	11
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New Jersey	13	20	.395	12
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Philadelphia	10	19	.344	17
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Atlanta	9	19	.318	18
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Washington	7	21	.250	19
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## Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Cleveland	18	9	.667	—
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Indiana	18	9	.667	—
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Charlotte	17	12	.586	1
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Chicago	16	12	.571	2
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Atlanta	12	19	.386	7
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Detroit	9	18	.333	10
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Minneapolis	9	19	.318	11
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## WESTERN CONFERENCE

## Midwest Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Utah	20	6	.769	—
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Houston	19	9	.679	1
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San Antonio	16	12	.571	4
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Denver	15	14	.517	5
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Dallas	13	16	.448	8
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Memphis	6	21	.222	13
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## Pacific Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Phoenix	23	7	.767	—
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Seattle	20	9	.690	3
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L.A. Lakers	19	9	.679	4
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Sacramento	15	13	.538	7
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Portland	14	16	.464	8
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Golden State	12	17	.414	10
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L.A. Clippers	4	25	.138	16
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## WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Boston	25	23	.520	—
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San Antonio	25	23	.520	—
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Atlanta	25	23	.520	—
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Phoenix	25	23	.520	—
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Seattle	25	23	.520	—
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Portland	25	23	.520	—
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Golden State	25	23	.520	—
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L.A. Clippers	25	23	.520	—
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Phoenix	25	23	.520	—
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Seattle	25	23	.520	—
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Portland	25	23	.520	—
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Golden State	25	23	.520	—
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L.A. Clippers	25	23	.520	—
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Phoenix	25	23	.520	—
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Seattle	25	23	.520	—
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Portland	25	23	.520	—
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Golden State	25	23	.520	—
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L.A. Clippers	25	23	.520	—
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Phoenix	25	23	.520	—
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Seattle	25	23	.520	—
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Portland	25	23	.520	—
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Golden State	25	23	.520	—
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## AP Top 25 Results

## How the top 25 teams in the Associated Press men's college basketball poll fared Wednesday: 1. North Carolina (9-1) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 2. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 3. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 4. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 5. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 6. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 7. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 8. Indiana (18-5) lost to No. 22 Iowa 74-55. Next: vs. Wisconsin, Saturday; 9. Duke (9-3) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 10. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 11. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 12. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 13. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 14. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 15. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 16. Indiana (18-5) lost to No. 22 Iowa 74-55. Next: vs. Wisconsin, Saturday; 17. Duke (9-3) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 18. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 19. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 20. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 21. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 22. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 23. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 24. Indiana (18-5) lost to No. 22 Iowa 74-55. Next: vs. Wisconsin, Saturday; 25. Duke (9-3) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 26. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 27. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 28. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 29. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 30. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 31. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 32. Indiana (18-5) lost to No. 22 Iowa 74-55. Next: vs. Wisconsin, Saturday; 33. Duke (9-3) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 34. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 35. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 36. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 37. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 38. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 39. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 40. Indiana (18-5) lost to No. 22 Iowa 74-55. Next: vs. Wisconsin, Saturday; 41. Duke (9-3) lost to North Carolina State 80-70. Next: vs. No. 7 Maryland, Saturday; 42. Duke (9-3) lost to Mississippi State 76-70. Next: vs. Tennessee, Saturday; 43. Michigan (11-2) lost to No. 24 Georgia Tech 80-70. Next: vs. No. 1 North Carolina, Saturday; 44. Kentucky (12-2) beat Auburn 99-64. Next: at South Carolina, Saturday; 45. Duke (9-3) lost to Clemson 89-80. Next: at No. 24 Georgia Tech, Saturday; 46. Michigan State (8-1) beat Wisconsin 76-64. Next: vs. No. 22 Iowa, Saturday; 47. Nebraska (11-2) lost to Texas 102-74. Next: vs. Missouri, Saturday; 48. Indiana (18-5) lost to No.



## SPORTS



Ma Junren, center, and some of his runners in calmer days. Wang Junxia is second from left, Qu Yunxia at far right.

## The Chinese Puzzle That Is Ma's (Maybe) Army

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
BEIJING — Ma Junren's team of women runners is jolted and in training, a senior sports official said Thursday. "Ma's Family Army," as the team of distance runners has become known, has been disbanded and will never reunite, its leader and double world champion, Wang Junxia, said Thursday.

And so it went, as this Chinese puzzle remained as perplexing as ever. "Ma's army is still in existence and no athletes have left," said Cui Dalin, director of the sports commission of Liaoning, Ma's home province and site of his main training camp.

Training is continuing as usual, Cui said by telephone, although Ma is hospitalized recovering from an automobile accident. Cui said that a search had started for a temporary coach to take over the

team while Ma remains incapacitated. Cui's remarks followed reports Wednesday that 16 athletes — led by Wang — had walked out after a row over Ma pocketing their prize money.

Wang said Ma had driven her and her teammates to desperation with what she described as his dictatorial style and mercurial moods.

"We simply couldn't take it any longer. We had absolutely no freedom," Wang said by telephone from the northeastern city of Sheyang, where, she said, the remnants of the team were setting up an independent training base.

"We were all on the brink of going crazy. The pressure was too intense. We couldn't take it," the 21-year-old Wang said, shouting into the telephone.

"The Ma Family Army has been disbanded," she added. "We will never bring

the team back together. Impossible."

"It's true that there are some serious problems within Ma's army, but those are the normal problems that exist between coaches and athletes," Cui said. The provincial commission was trying to help resolve the difficulties, he added.

Wang said that a major factor had been Ma's hoarding of his runners' cash and prizes, including the three Mercedes-Benz 600 sedans that she, Qu Yunxia and Liu Dong were awarded at the world championships in Stuttgart.

"He said the car was our common property, half his, half mine," Wang said.

Ma smashed one of the Mercedes into a highway barrier while returning from his father's funeral in December. He refused to take telephone calls.

(Reuters, AFP)

## NHL Votes Saturday on New Offer

By Len Hochberg

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The National Hockey League's Board of Governors has scheduled a meeting for Saturday morning after four days of negotiations ended with the Players' Association presenting its "best offer" of the 96-day-old lockout.

In a fax to each of the 26 clubs, the league said Wednesday it was calling the board together "to consider the NHLPA's final proposal."

"I don't think that's correct," Steve McAllister, the union's manager of communications, said of the word "final." But he allowed, it is "certainly our best offer on the player-system issues" — free agency, salary arbit-

ration and entry-level salaries — "which have been at the core at both sides' inability to reach a collective bargaining agreement."

[The Canadian Press, citing unidentified sources, said the offer made no concessions on the luxury tax, the stumbling block in the negotiations. It said the players have proposed an unfettered free agency at age 30, an indexed rookie salary cap that starts at \$900,000 and changes in salary arbitration.]

[It was proposed that if a player wins an arbitration case, the team doesn't have to honor it, but if the player loses he can sign with another team. Should he not catch on with another club, his original team could retain his rights by offering him

a 15 percent increase over his previous contract.]

[The proposal was also said to contain innovative measures regarding rising salaries and player movement.]

What's left of the already-shortened season may rest on how the board views the proposal, and one management source said: "I don't think we're going to have a deal."

Commissioner Gary Bettman announced last Thursday that the latest 50-game regular season could start in Jan. 16. So if the board rejects this offer, that would leave very little time to strike a deal. Still, neither side ruled out having more negotiations after Saturday's vote.

If the offer is accepted, the

50-game season would begin on Jan. 16, preceded by a brief training camp and followed by a full playoff schedule that would end no later than July 1.

The union's offer concluded roughly 30 hours of talks over four days with two lawyers for each side meeting in Chicago.

Neither Bettman nor Bob Goodenow, the NHLPA's executive director, has been at the bargaining table since Dec. 6. But they have spoken by phone, did so Wednesday, and are expected to do so again before Saturday.

If Bettman finds the proposal acceptable, 14 of the 26 teams must vote to approve. If he does not approve, he can be overruled by a vote of 20 teams.

## Mack Gets Japanese Record \$8.1 Million

The Associated Press

TOKYO — In Japan, \$8.1 million is a lot to pay for a two-year baseball contract. It is a record, in fact. But the Yomiuri Giants do not think they are paying too much for outfielder Shane Mack.

"We have high hopes for Mack-san's contribution to the Giants," Teruhiko Hoshina, a team official, said Thursday.

"Let's just see how he plays," said the public relations manager, Keisuke Oi. "We pay according to a player's record."

The contract was signed Wednesday in Minnesota, where Mack, 31, hit .333 with 15 home runs and 61 runs batted in in 303 at-bats with the Twins. He missed the first month of the 1994 season with a sore right shoulder.

"I compared the offers, and I felt Japan was the better offer and I felt it was time

for me to move on," Mack said Thursday.

The Giants, who are backed by the mass-circulation Yomiuri newspaper, are by far Japan's most popular, and most hated, team. They defeated the Seibu Lions last season to win the Japan Series, their country's version of the World Series.

The Twins' general manager, Terry Ryan, said the major league strike was a factor in the deal. "If he goes to Japan, he's assured that he'll play," Ryan said.

Mack, who had spoken with the Baltimore Orioles between seasons, would have earned \$3.25 million last year if the strike had not halted the season Aug. 12. He filed for free agency Oct. 19.

In terms of average annual value, Mack's deal eclipses the previous Japanese records, the reported \$3.7 million, one-year contract the Florida Marlins' former

player, Orestes Destrade, signed last month to return to Seibu, and the \$3.5 million deal that Julio Franco signed with the Chiba Lotte Marines on Dec. 20. The Marines, who will be managed next season by Bobby Valentine, also signed outfielder Pete Incaviglia to a \$2 million, one-year contract and pitcher Eric Hillman to a \$725,000, one-year deal.

Mack and Franco are the most prominent U.S. players to leave for Japan in their prime since Bob Horner played for the Yakult Swallows in 1987. He had received no offers in a collusion-tainted market after leaving the Atlanta Braves.

Japanese media have speculated that the country might see an influx of top American talent, especially if the 1995 season goes by the boards because of the major league baseball strike in the United States.

## Paris and Vienna Tabbed for Cup Finals

The Associated Press

GENEVA — Vienna and Paris are in line to host this season's two major European cup soccer finals.

The Ernst Happel Stadium in Vienna has been recommended by the UEFA Club Competitions' Committee as the site for the European Champions' Cup final on May 24. The Parc des Princes in Paris was nominated

for the Cup Winners' Cup final on May 10.

The committee also recommended Feyenoord Stadium in Rotterdam as the backup site for the Cup Winners' Cup final in case the French club Auxerre, which has advanced to the quarterfinals, reaches the title game.

Feyenoord is also in the quarterfinals, and should Auxerre and Feyenoord both reach the final, a third site will be chosen.

The final decision on the venues will be made by UEFA's Executive Committee. No date has been set for the decision.

The competition committee also recommended that UEFA's other international club competition, the UEFA Cup, begin playing its final at a neutral site in 1996. Currently, the UEFA Cup final is played over two legs at the home stadiums of the participating teams.

## Seles Attacker To Be Retried In State Court

The Associated Press

HAMBURG — The unemployed lather operator who was sentenced to probation for stabbing Monica Seles in the back during a tennis match will be retried starting March 21, a state court said Thursday.

Considering the sentence too lenient, Hamburg prosecutors decided to bring the case to trial again before a higher court, their right under German law.

Seles, 21, the world's top-ranked woman tennis player at the time of the April 30, 1993, attack, has not competed since.

That October a lower court in Hamburg convicted Günter Parche of causing grievous bodily injury. He could have been sentenced to five years in prison but was put on two years probation on the grounds he had diminished ability to distinguish right from wrong.

Parche said during the trial that he was a fervent fan of Steffi Graf and only wanted to injure Seles slightly so that Graf could take the top ranking.

The prosecutor had sought a 33-month jail sentence.

The lenient sentence prompted an outcry. Seles's attorney sought a retrial and state prosecutors agreed.

"No new charges were filed. The prosecutor was not satisfied with the sentence and had the right to bring the case to trial again," said Silke Hinz, spokeswoman for the Regional Court where the retrial will be held.

"It will be a regular trial, with witnesses called again."

## Congress Lines Up Bills, Owners the Replacements

By Murray Chass

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In an effort to spur agreement on a new labor contract in major league baseball, members of Congress introduced five bills ranging from complete repeal of the sport's antitrust exemption to binding arbitration to settle the nearly five-month strike.

Three bills, two calling for complete repeal of the exemption, had been expected from

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, and Representative Michael Bilirakis, Republican of Florida, on the first day of the 104th Congress. But two Democratic representatives also introduced bills, both of which had seen brief life in the last term.

Pat Williams of Montana reintroduced a bill that would require owners and players to submit to binding arbitration if they did not reach agreement by Feb. 1, although the date will most

likely be pushed back a month. John Conyers of Michigan offered a bill that made it out of the House Judiciary Committee last term, proposing that any unilateral implementation of new work rules become subject to the antitrust laws.

Meanwhile, management officials began discussing out how to end the strike, but how to proceed with spring training and the season.

In two telephone conference calls, members of the 10-men-

ber operations committee discussed such issues as replacement players and ticket prices if they are used.

The Philadelphia Phillies' owner, Bill Giles, said he believed "that's probably the direction we're headed." He added that his team had a list of about 20 potential replacement players.

Spring training is scheduled to start Feb. 16, and most teams have said they expect to begin on time.

## Cyclist Obree Has Very Short Ride With New Team

Reuters

LONDON — Graeme Obree, the former world champion cyclist, has been sacked by his new French team just weeks before the start of the season, his agent said Thursday.

The Scot did not attend a team get-together and Guy Mole, the general manager of Le Groupement team, told Obree's agent, Frank Quinn: "We do not want someone who is without enthusiasm."

Quinn discovered that Obree had not left for France when he rang the rider's home Tuesday.

"He told me that he was sick and on Wednesday sent a medical certificate to Le Groupement. But it's too late," Quinn said. "If he had a legitimate reason for not going I would fight for him but it's hard to have sympathy."

Obree took cycling by storm two years ago, twice setting the world hour record and winning a world track title with his unusual home-made bike and racing style.

## SIDELINES

## NFL Jets Fire Carroll, Hire Kotite

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. (AP) — The New York Jets fired Pete Carroll as their coach Thursday and hired a former assistant, Rich Kotite, as his replacement.

Kotite was fired by the Philadelphia Eagles the day after Christmas following a 7-9 season. Carroll's dismissal, along with that of his entire staff, came two days short of a year after he was hired to replace the fired Bruce Coslet following an 8-8 season. The team was 6-10 this year.

The Detroit Lions said that Wayne Footes has received a two-year contract extension as their coach.

## FIS Says Völker's Record Wasn't

LAUSANNE, Switzerland (AP) — Sandra Völker of Germany did not set a world record of 27.86 seconds in the 50-meter backstroke at the World Cup short-course swimming competition in Hong Kong, FIS scrambled to explain Thursday.

The record, it said, is 27.64 set by Bai Xinyu of China in Desenzano, Italy, last March 13. Two days later, Bai swam a 27.62 in Malmö, Sweden — but failed a drug test, was banned for one month and her time wiped off the books.

## For the Record

Young America, the lone America's Cup yacht of the PACT '95 syndicate, had its hull badly damaged by a severe storm in San Diego, just a week before trails are to begin. The storm narrowly missed hitting two Australian compounds.

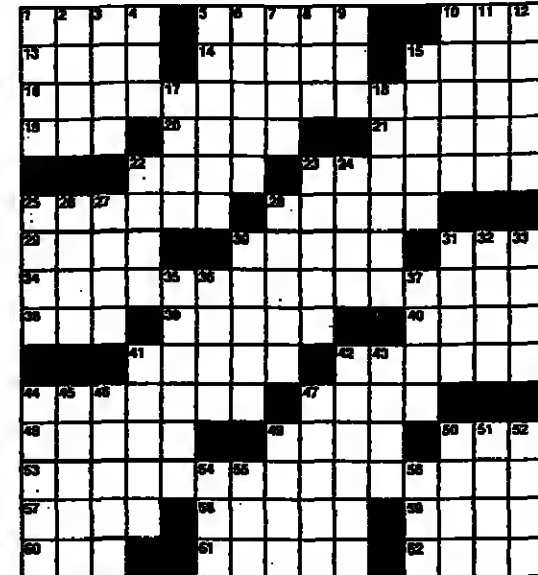
Tab Ramos, the midfielder who received a serious head injury in the World Cup, became the first player to sign with Major League Soccer, which is to start up in 1996; he has played in Spain the past five years.

## CROSSWORD

ACROSS  
1 Karate blow  
2 O'Neill specialty  
3 Suffer consequences  
13 Coleridge poem  
14 Tyr, Balder, etc.  
15 Magic incantation  
16 Start of a quip  
18 Amigo

28 Art apt  
29 Boxer Griffith  
30 Hard to corner  
31 Arrogates  
32 Strauss opera  
33 Phylum subdivision  
34 Botanist's angle  
35 "Dangerous Liaisons" star  
36 One who stoops to conquer  
37 Part 2 of the quip  
38 Isle of England  
39 "Wiseacre" of London star, 1936  
40 Erect  
41 Tickle  
42 Restraint  
43 Curricula vitae  
44 Startling success  
45 Pass over  
46 Factory  
47 Emblem of sovereignty  
48 End of the quip  
49 Sunday wrap  
50 Delete

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## Solution to Puzzle of Jan. 5

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2 O'NEILL  
3 SUFFER  
13 COLERIDGE  
14 TYR  
15 MAGIC  
16 START  
18 AMIGO  
28 ART  
29 BOXER  
30 HARD  
31 ARROGANT  
32 STRAUSS  
33 PHYLUM  
34 BOTANICAL  
35 DANGEROUS  
36 CONQUEROR  
37 PART  
38 ENGLAND  
39 WISEACRE  
40 ERECT  
41 TICKLE  
42 RESTRAINT  
43 CURRICULUM  
44 STARTLING  
45 PASS  
46 FACTORY  
47 EMBLEM  
48 END  
49 SUNDAY  
50 DELETE

DOWN  
1 KARATE  
2 O'NEILL  
3 SUFFER  
13 COLERIDGE  
14 TYR  
15 MAGIC  
16 START  
18 AMIGO  
28 ART  
29 BOXER  
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## OBSERVER

## Waking Up in the Mart

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Almost everything Americans buy is now made outside the United States. You know that long ago. I knew it too, but I hadn't really believed it until various women took me shopping in December.

This meant killing time in women's wear divisions of assorted stores. What a learning experience these malls afforded. Nothing beats on-site inspection. As a result I now know that a mart is a store selling goods made almost exclusively in Asia and Central America.

During the hours women friends were shopping for perfection in female apparel I studied labels on women's clothing. Almost all of it, I was stupidly shocked to note, was made in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Honduras, Brazil and Mexico.

One mart was selling women's wear "Made in the United Arab Emirates." Something of a shock, that one. The idea of poor Arab women toiling for sweat-tent wages to produce clothes for American women clashed with my most ignorant and firmly held stereotypes of life in the Arab Emirates.

Camel saddles, yes, yes. Had I wandered into that great mart's Gilt for the Guy Who's Got It All department and noticed a camel saddle for sale, I would probably have thought, "I'll bet that's made in the United Arab Emirates." But women's wear?

Even more astounding was a label saying "Made in the Northern Mariana Islands," because that's where the B-29s that carried the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs were based in 1945. I recoiled from the idea of filmy women's apparel being produced in such nasty atomic ambience.

This is unfair to the Marianas

Islands, of course, which are populated by Chamorros, Carolinians and Micronesians who had nothing whatever to do with atomic bombings. In fact, since the Marianas comprise a commonwealth of the United States and its residents are American citizens, its produce was one of the few examples of mart-quality women's wear that could truthfully be labeled "Made in U.S.A."

We are talking here of how easy it is to shock a smugly uninformed mind that has a high opinion of its quality. Doubtless you, reader, have always known that those sturdy he-man outdoors garments advertised in that swell catalogue of rugged stuff for rugged outdoors guys is all made in Asia.

What a blow to this romantic vision of American commerce when I wandered into mountains of this very stuff piled high in one of those all-under-one-roof mall marts. Every bit had been made in Asia, probably by the same hard-worked nickel-and-nail laborers who turned out the women's ready-to-wear.

Thanks to long exposure to journalism, mine is a mind that does not bruise easily, no matter how grave the insult. My friend Clark is made of nobler stuff.

He just telephoned angrily about a pot he bought at an outlet mart. Clark was not ecstatic by the Asian threads in which the mart specialized, but he couldn't resist the pot because it bore the "Revere" label, suggesting an old Boston tradition of workmanship. Back home, inspecting it, he found "Made in Korea."

"I feel insulted," he tells me, swearing to return to the mart and do something rude. Poor fellow. Soon we will all here be made in Korea, Taiwan, China, Indonesia, Sri Lanka . . .

New York Times Service

## Forger's Confession, But How Authentic?

By Ralph Blumenthal

NEW YORK — As a self-proclaimed forger of Old Master drawings and paintings, Eric Hebborn has had few modern equals. The 60-year-old English-born artist claims to have counterfeited "let us say 500" works that have infiltrated private collections, auction houses, galleries and museums the world over.

He brazenly chronicled his career of hoaxes in an autobiography called "Drawn to Trouble: Confessions of a Master Forger" (Random House) in 1993. But now some of his claims have in turn been debunked by an unlikely detractor: a former partner who contends that some of Hebborn's claimed fakery was itself faked.

In particular, said the partner, Graham Smith — who according to both men was Hebborn's lover in the 1950s and '60s — Hebborn did not, as boasted, produce a Bruegel etching now in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (and flush the original down the toilet).

The dispute, disclosed in Art and Auction magazine, has added a new dimension of duplicity and intrigue to a case that has already provoked its share of consternation and indignation in the international bazars of art.

"Everything he did, he showed me," said Smith, 56, who contends he never saw or heard about several fabrications before Hebborn claimed them in his book. "He would have told me if he had," said Smith in a series of telephone interviews from San Diego, where he works as an artist and is writing his autobiography.

From Rome, where he has worked for years, Hebborn dismissed Smith's challenge as "bad memory." He maintained that he had not always let Smith watch him work and that Smith was not privy to all his secrets.

"I've got more documents than he does," Hebborn said in a telephone interview. In his book, however, he concedes he retained few records of his dealings.

Although he asked, "Why would I

bother to invent something?" his book makes plain that he delights in twinking the art establishment and does not feel bound by conventional strictures. "I need have no scruples in dealing with the unscrupulous," he wrote.

The author of the Art and Auction article, Geraldine Norman, an art market correspondent for The Independent of London and a reporter who broke the stories of fakes by Hebborn and another notorious art forger, Tom Keating, said in an interview that she found Smith's claims persuasive and that he had no reason to lie. Moreover, she said, when she once confronted Hebborn over his forgery claims, "he smiled across the table and said, 'I like to spread a little confusion.'"

For his part, Smith said that he had focused on Hebborn's book only recently, when he started to write his own, and that he was struck by the inventions.

The Eric Hebborn depicted in "Drawn to Trouble" was born into poverty in London and by the age of 15 was being described in a newspaper as "a keen and promising artist" who soon showed an affinity for copying Old Master drawings.

In 1954, while teaching at an art school outside London, the 20-year-old Hebborn met Smith, then 16, who was posing as an artist's model, and they began what was to be a 14-year relationship.

Three years later, by Hebborn's published account, he was working for a London picture restorer under whose guidance, he wrote, "I began, little by little, to develop my abilities and improve my knowledge of the materials and methods of the Old Masters until I would one day be able to 'restore' a whole painting — from nothing at all."

When a dealer came in one day with an authentic 17th-century blank canvas, all that was lacking was a 17th-century Dutch painting to make it worth a small fortune. Here, Hebborn says, he was glad to oblige, after which the picture was baked in an oven to



Eric Hebborn at work, copying a portrait by Jacques-Louis David.

harden the paint. Many variations followed, he wrote.

Smith said it was news to him. Considering their closeness at the time, he said, if it had happened, he would have known it.

It was about this time, in 1963, Hebborn relates, that their Pannini Galleries acquired "The Temple of Venus and Diana at Baiae," a pen-and-ink drawing attributed by London's Colnaghi gallery to Jan Bruegel the Elder.

But Hebborn says that the way the lines seemed slowly drawn, as if by an engraver, made him doubt the picture's authenticity. He resolved to make what he called "a copy of the copy" and "re-create the original."

After downing "a tot of brandy" for courage, he says, he copied the drawing and carefully switched it with the one in the frame.

In an act of bravado, he says, "I destroyed the old engraver's copy — I tore it to shreds and flushed it down the lavatory." Had he in fact been mistaken, he asked himself, and destroyed a genuine Bruegel in favor of a modern fake? "I hope not and I don't think so," he answered.

Smith scoffed at the published ac-

count. For one thing, he said, "I had a good eye and would have noticed the difference."

Smith also cast doubt on another caper claimed by Hebborn: that he fabricated a drawing meant to be taken for a sketch by Camille Corot for a painting called "Portrait of Louis Robert" in the Louvre. No trace has been found of the purported drawing, according to Smith and Norman.

Hebborn's downfall, if his somewhat gleeful mea culpa could be called that, came with accumulating evidence of stylistic similarities in the execution of disparate masterpieces. But dealers he had snookered remained mum rather than press criminal charges, for fear, Hebborn writes, of rocking the boat and undermining faith in the market.

He has also hit on the ultimate revenge. He says he is sometimes amused to take a genuine old drawing into an art salesroom and watch the dealer turn it away with disgust as soon as he recognizes the offense.

And Hebborn said he was working on a new book, a how-to-art manual. It will be called, he said, "The Forger's Handbook."

## PEOPLE

## Marilyn Monroe Wins Place in Stamp World

A new U.S. postage stamp, planned as the first in a series honoring American film legends, will bear the image of Marilyn Monroe, or as the Postal Service publicity department puts it, "the explosive combination of talent and vulnerable beauty that continues to enrapture America and the world." It will cost 32 cents.

Hunters in the southern French town of Bessières tried for a pigeon shoot Thursday, undaunted by threats from Brigitte Bardot to call in activists to confront them. Supporters of the former film star's animal rights movement did not show up in time, and the hunt leader, Hubert Alasia, said that up to 1,000 pigeons were culled. The mayor, Jean-Paul Seguela, summoned local hunters after deciding that the town was overpopulated with pigeons. Bardot's effort to shoot the birds away by firing a laser gun during the night did not work.

Jerry Lewis is looking forward to playing the Devil in the Broadway revival of the musical "Damn Yankees," a role in which he persuades a baseball fan to sell his soul for a major-league pennant. "I've been typecast before, but this is really special. I've been rehearsing 63 years to play this role," the 69-year-old comic said. He has 11 more pounds to lose to prepare for the role, which he takes over at the end of February. What will he bring to the show? "Brilliance — there's no humility in my family," Lewis said. "I've got it all."

Margo L. Jefferson has been named the Sunday theater critic of The New York Times. Starting in February, she will succeed Vincent Canby, recently appointed the chief daily theater critic.

## WEATHER

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

Europe	Today		High		Low		Tomorrow		High		Low		W	
	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F
Algeria	68	81	74	81	54	65	68	81	74	81	54	65	68	81
Andorra	47	59	73	77	49	63	73	77	49	63	73	77	49	63
Armenia	54	61	60	62	54	61	54	61	60	62	54	61	54	61
Austria	11	22	64	68	11	22	64	68	11	22	64	68	11	22
Bahamas	84	90	84	90	84	90	84	90	84	90	84	90	84	90
Bahrain	87	92	87	92	87	92	87	92	87	92	87	92	87	92
Belarus	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Belize	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Bhutan	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10
Bolivia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Bosnia	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10
Brazil	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Bulgaria	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10	22	27	1	10
Burkina Faso	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Burundi	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Cameroon	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Canada	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Chad	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Chile	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
China	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Colombia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Costa Rica	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Croatia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Cuba	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Cyprus	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Czech Republic	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Dominican Republic	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Dominica	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Ecuador	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
El Salvador	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Equatorial Guinea	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Eritrea	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Estonia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Ethiopia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Faroe Islands	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Fiji	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Finland	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
France	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Gabon	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Gambia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Germany	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Ghana	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Greece	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Guatemala	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Haiti	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Honduras	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Hungary	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Iceland	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
India	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Indonesia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Iran	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Ireland	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Israel	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Italy	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Jamaica	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Japan	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Jordan	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Kazakhstan	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Kenya	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Korea	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Kuwait	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Laos	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Latvia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Lebanon	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Lesotho	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Lithuania	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Luxembourg	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Macao	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Macedonia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Madagascar	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Malawi	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Malaysia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Maldives	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mali	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Malta	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mauritania	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mauritius	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mexico	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Moldova	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mongolia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Montenegro	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Morocco	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Mozambique	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Nicaragua	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Niger	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Nigeria	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
North Macedonia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Oman	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Pakistan	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Panama	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Paraguay	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Peru	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Philippines	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Poland	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Portugal	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Romania	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Russia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Saudi Arabia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Senegal	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Serbia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Seychelles	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Slovakia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
Slovenia	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
South Africa	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37
South Korea	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37	42	47	32	37